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THE
History of Pennsylvania,
IN
NORTH AMERICA,

FROM THE
Original Institution and Settlement of that Province, under
the first *Proprietor* and *Governor* WILLIAM PENN,
in 1681, till after the Year 1742;

WITH AN
INTRODUCTION,
RESPECTING,

The Life of W. PENN, prior to the grant of the Province, and the religious
Society of the People called *Quakers*;—with the first rise of the neighbouring
Colonies, more particularly of *West-New-Jersey*, and the Settlement
of the *Dutch* and *Swedes* on *Delaware*.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A brief Description of the said Province,

AND OF THE
General State, in which it flourished, principally between the Years 1760 and 1770.

The whole including a Variety of Things,
Useful and interesting to be known, respecting that Country in early Time, &c.

With an APPENDIX.

Written principally between the Years 1776 and 1780,
By ROBERT PROUD.

“PULCHRUM EST BENEFACERE REIPUBLICÆ, ETIAM BENEDICERE HAUD ABSUR-
DUM EST, VEL PACE VEL BELLO CLARUM FIERI LICET.” *Sal. Catalin.*

“SED CUM PLERIQUE ARBITRENTUR RES BELICAS MAJORES ESSE QUAM URBANAS,
MINUENDA EST HÆC OPINIO.” *Cic. Off.*

VOLUME II.

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1798.

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History of Pennsylvania

BY JOHN H. COOPER

Original in the possession of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania
The first copy of the original manuscript was deposited in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania in 1821.

INTRODUCTION

The history of Pennsylvania is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of many of our best writers and historians. The history of Pennsylvania is a subject which has attracted the attention of many of our best writers and historians.

A brief history of the Province of Pennsylvania.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

The Province of Pennsylvania was first settled by the Quakers in 1681. It was then a part of the Province of Maryland. It was then a part of the Province of Maryland.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Governor Gookin arrives.—The Proprietor's letter by him to his friends.—Assembly's address to the Governor.—Names of the members of Assembly.—They continue their former animosity.—The Governor's answer; to which the Assembly reply.—The Council's address to the Governor.—The Assembly displeased with the Council, and present a remonstrance of grievances to the Governor.—Evil tendency of these disputes; and dangerous effects of party spirit.—The Governor's speech to the Assembly, containing a military requisition in 1709.

GOVERNOR GOOKIN, arrived at Philadelphia, in the first month, March, O. S. The Proprietary, in a letter to his friends, in the province, recommended him, as a person of years, experience and moderation, as well as of good character, example and abilities; and descended of

1709.

The Proprietor's character of Governor Gookin.

1709.

of a good family in *Ireland*; and that, having taken leave of a military life, and his native country, he came with intention, if he found the place agreeable to his expectation, to settle, and spend the remainder of his life and fortune in the province.*

The

* This letter, which he sent by Governor *Gookin*, is as follows, viz.

“ London, 28th. 7th. month, 1708.

“ *Dear Friends and Brethren,*

“ MY ancient love, if you can believe it, reaches to you, as in times past, and years, that are gone, even, in the divine root and principle of love and life, that made us near to one another, above all worldly considerations; where our life, I hope, is hid with Christ, in God, our Father; so that, when he appears, we shall also appear with him, in glory; and in the meantime, through us, to those that love and wait for his appearance, as the desire of nations; that we may glorify God, his and our everlasting Father, in our bodies, souls and spirits, in temporal and eternal affairs; being indeed none of our own; forasmuch as we are our own, we are none of the Lord's; a great mystery, but a great truth, and of absolute necessity to witness, to be of the number of the chosen nation, the peculiar people, and royal priesthood of Christ, and his glorious kingdom.

“ Oh! my dear friends, let all below this keep on the left hand; and wait to feel those blessed things, to inherit right hand; and in faith and courage, cry aloud to the Lord, for his renewing and refreshing power, that may revive and reform his work upon your hearts and minds; and our humility, meekness, patience, self-denial and charity, with a blameless walking, may plainly appear, and manifest the work of God upon our hearts, to those that are without; which is not only the way to bring up the loiterers, and gather in the careless ones, to their duty, but fetch home and bring in, the strangers, and the very enemies of the blessed truth, to confess and acknowledge that God is in you, and for you, of a truth.

“ Now, my dear friends, as to outward things, I have sent a new Governor, of years and experience; of a quiet, easy temper; that, I hope, will give offence to none; nor too easily put up any, if offered him, without hope of amendment. The Queen very graciously approved of him, at first offer, and gave him her hand to kiss; and, at last, being introduced by the Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain*, at *Windsor*, she added, “ *Sir, I wish you a good journey, and shall be ready to serve you.*” He is sober, understands to command and obey, moderate in his temper, and of what they call a good family: his grandfather, Sir *Vincent Gookin*, having been an early great planter in *Ireland*, in King *James* the first, and the first Charles's days; and he intends, if not ill treated, to lay his bones, as well as substance among you; having taken leave of the war, and both *England* and *Ireland* to live amongst you; and as he is not voluptuous, so, I hope, he will be an example of thriftiness. In short, he has instructions, as much to the virtue, justice and peace of the country, as I can express myself, or you desire, for your comfortable living; pray, therefore, receive him kindly, and express it, by a modest subsistence; or, rather, give it me, to give him, or, how you please.

“ The

The Assembly was sitting at the time of his arrival, and immediately presented him with the following congratulatory address, viz. 1709.

The *Address* of the Representatives of the free-men of the province of Pennsylvania, in assembly met, the 9th. day of the month called March, 1708-9, presented to *Charles Gookin* Esq. by the Queen's royal approbation, Lieutenant Governor of the said province, &c. The Assembly's address to Governor Gookin.

“ *May it please the Governor,*

“ HAVING this opportunity, we can do no less than congratulate thy seasonable accession to this government, and render our most grateful acknowledgments to the Queen, for her gracious acceptance of the Proprietary's nomination of thee, to supply his absence, and to him, for constituting a person of so fair a character, furnished, as we hope, with a full resolution, as well as power, to redress

“ The Lord *Lovelace*, Governor of *New York*, and a promising one indeed, presses, and the Admiral's orders, for sailing, are gone down; the wind fair, and Governor *Gookin* leaves me to-morrow.

“ I earnestly beseech you to assist *James Logan*, and who else the Trustees, for the payment of the money here advanced, shall nominate, not only to get in, but turn into money, the best you are able, that I may come honourable to you, and speedily; which I hope to do, as soon as you, and these friends here, think fit. Let me have this pledge of your love, and it shall be a lasting one, to advise and assist you for the expediting the matter; for be assured, I long to be with you; and, if the Lord bring me and mine well there, I hope not to return on almost any terms, at least not without your advice and satisfaction; for care of you, and settling plantations for my poor minors; for planters, God willing, they shall be, in their father's country, rather than great merchants, in their native land; and to visit friends throughout the continent, at least, their chiefest business.

“ In the first love I leave you and yours, and all the Lord's people amongst you; my family and affairs, to the merciful providence and orderings of our great and gracious God, that welcomed us, in poor *America*, with his excellent love and presence, and will, I hope, once more, and remain your loving and faithful friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

“ Herewith comes your school charter.”

Note. This was the charter of the Friends' public grammar school, in Philadelphia, before mentioned; though it was neither the first nor last of that institution.

1709. redress the grievances, and remove the oppressions, that this poor province has, for some time, laboured under, occasioned by the irregular administration of the late Deputy Governor; who was too much influenced by *evil counsel*; to which the miseries and confusion of the state, and divisions in the government, are principally owing.

“ We are ready to represent such of those public grievances, as are laid before us, or occur to our knowledge, in particular articles, and bring them to a proper examen; but, perceiving by thy message to the house yesterday, that thou art not ready, at this time, to proceed with us to business, we shall take leave only to mention some of those things, of which the public weal of this country loudly calls for a most earnest application and speedy redress.

“ In the first place, we are to lay before thee, that of the *false alarm* in May, 1706; wherein the late Governor was chief actor; and for which he is highly chargeable; having shot at the Queen’s subjects, putting many of the inhabitants of this town in danger of their lives, and forced great quantities of powder and lead from the owners, and gave it to such as wasted it, when he knew there was no occasion to use it; whereby he deprived the place of what ammunition might be ready for those, that had freedom to make use of it, for their defence, in case of an attack.

“ The next is that notorious act of hostility, he committed by firing shot at the Queen’s subjects passing by *Newcastle*, in the river, upon their lawful trade, to and from this port.

“ We mention these, as they are, in our opinion, offences of a deep dye, and committed against the Queen’s crown and dignity, as well as against the peace, and ought to be charged upon him,

him, before he departs this province; but the method of the prosecution against him we submit to thy prudent care and discretion, and we shall be ready to do what is proper on our parts. 1709.

“ That the Treasurer* of the last tax has refused to comply with the directions of the Assembly, in paying the public debts, according to the respective orders drawn upon him, and signed by the Speaker; and that the Collectors of the said tax, who neglected their duty, in gathering the same, have not been obliged thereunto, according as the act of Assembly, in that case, directs, and more particularly the Collector of the city and county of *Philadelphia*.

“ That the courts of judicature of this province have been, and are, erected by ordinances of the Governor and Council, against the advice, and without the assent of the Assembly; which we *complain* of, as a *great oppression* and aggrievance to the people, we represent, and desire the same may be speedily redressed, and the bill prepared for the establishing courts, with other useful bills, ready to be presented to the Governor, may be considered.

“ We are given to understand that thou brought some commands from the Queen to this government, as well as instructions from the Proprietary, relating to the public, which, with a copy of thy commission, and the royal approbation, we desire may be communicated to this house, at our next meeting, which we intend on the twentieth day of the next month, and shall adjourn accordingly, unless it be thy pleasure to call us sooner; which we shall be ready to comply with, not only in expectation of a speedy redress of our grievances, but to settle by law, how money

* Viz. S. Carpenter.

1709. ney shall be paid upon contracts made, before the new currency of money takes effect.

“ Signed by order of the House,

“ DAVID LLOYD, *Speaker.*”*

The Assembly shew more of temper than prudence, &c.

Thus, by the Assembly's very first address to Governor *Gookin*, were the former animosities continued; for the principal and ruling members of the house were still the same, who had so long been accustomed to complain of grievances, if not to exaggerate, or imagine some things of that kind; insomuch, that, though they had sufficient reason to complain of part of *Evans's* conduct, in proper time and place, yet their manner of mentioning some things under the name of *oppression* and *grievance*, and in demanding, or urging, for others, such a mode of satisfaction, as the nature of their case rendered impossible to obtain in the province, particularly those respecting *Evans* and his administration; which, perhaps, would have been more prudently dropped, with the removal of their cause, seemed to shew more their temper of mind, than prudence: but *Evans's* ill or imprudent conduct had made such deep impression on their minds, and disposed them so much to a discontented and angry disposition, that in some of their representations, they appear not only to have exaggerated what

* The names of the Members of this Assembly, elected on the first day of October, 1708, were,

<i>For Philadelphia county.</i>	<i>Bucks county.</i>	<i>Chester county.</i>
David Lloyd, <i>Speaker</i> ,	William Paxon,	Daniel Williamfon,
Joseph Wilcox,	William Biles,	Samuel Levis,
John Roberts,	Joshua Hoopes,	Henry Lewis,
Francis Rawle,	Henry Paxon,	Richard Hayes,
Joshua Carpenter,	Samuel Darke,	John Hood,
Griffith Jones,	Samuel Beaks,	Thomas Pearson,
Francis Cooke,	Ezra Croasdale,	William Bartram,
John Cooke.	Thomas Hilborn.	Daniel Hoopes.

City of Philadelphia.

Abraham Bickley, William Lee,

what might truly be called grievances, but also 1709. complained of some things as such, which, in reality, and according to the laws and constitution, could not properly come under that name.

The Governor's reply to the Assembly's address is contained in his first speech to the house, on the 13th of the next month, April, as follows, viz.

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ It would have proved a much greater satisfaction to me, if at this first time of my speaking to you, I had nothing to take notice of, but what I myself might have to lay before you; but your address, presented to me in March last, when you sent me notice that you were sitting, will, before we proceed to any other business, require some answer; in which I will be plain and short, as the matter will bear.

The Governor's answer to the Assembly's address.

“ I thank you, gentlemen, for your congratulations, and do assure you, that I come with full resolutions, on my part, to employ the power, with which the Proprietary has thought fit to honour me, and her Majesty has graciously pleased to approve of, to render the people of this government as happy and easy as is possible for me, in all things, that shall concern their true interest, and be to their real advantage. I have enquired what might be meant by those *aggrievances, oppressions* and *confusions*, which you complain of, and whatsoever I shall meet with, that deserves those names, shall have my ready concurrence to remove them, as far as they shall appear; but must say, that, I believe, one effectual method to free all people from the apprehensions of grievances, will be, to lay all former animosities and jealousies aside, and, for the future, apply themselves to such business as they are concerned in, for the public, with a freedom and openness of temper, and an unbiassed inclination to promote the com-

1709. mon good, without any other particular view: if we should be so fortunate as to take example from her Majesty's glorious administration of her dominions at home, and that of her parliament, we should not fail of being extremely happy.

“ As to those two past actions of my immediate predecessor, of which you complain, I can only inform you, that they were both well known in *Britain*, before I left it; and that I had no directions to make any enquiry into them; and that, upon the best advice I can receive here, I find they will not properly fall under my cognizance, in the station I am placed in, and therefore cannot think it fit to concern myself with them.

“ But I am obliged to observe to you that the Council of the province, now with me, think themselves very unjustly treated by the mention you have made of them, if they (as it is generally understood) be intended by the *evil counsel*, of which you have taken notice; and therefore, will take the liberty to vindicate themselves, as you will see, by their application to me; to which I refer you.

“ The charge against the Treasurer,* I find, is occasioned by his and the Council's understanding the act of Assembly, by which the money, that comes into his hands, has been granted, somewhat differently from what the *present and late Houses* of Representatives have done: he pleads the law, as his best direction; and you cannot but agree, that it is fit that this alone (i mean the law) ought to determine the matter. As far as I have hitherto been able, I have pressed the collection of the taxes, and shall continue the best of my care, until they be finished.

“ The method of establishing courts, by the Governor and Council, was also well understood
in

* S. Carpenter.

in *Great Britain*, and was approved of there, as 1709. being grounded on unquestionable powers, granted the Proprietary. The bill formerly proposed by the Assembly, for that purpose, which is now before the board, has not been allowed of; but seeing the present establishment, which was drawn, as I am informed, according to the plan laid down in that bill, carries some inconveniencies with it, and requires an alteration, I shall be ready to agree to any other reasonable bill, that you shall hereafter propose, for settling courts of judicature, in such a regular method, as may be a lasting rule for holding them.

“ I have no instructions, gentlemen, from her Majesty, that will concern you; those from the Proprietary being to myself, as occasion offers, and where it may be proper, I shall acquaint you with the particulars. I have ordered copies of my commission, and her Majesty’s approbation, to be prepared and delivered to you.

“ I should now propose to your serious consideration some other matters of the highest importance, without which government cannot long subsist; as a due provision for the support of it, and for the security of the people; but what I shall principally recommend to you, at this time, is the latter part of the last paragraph of your address, *viz.* To prepare a bill for settling by law, how money shall be paid, upon contracts made, and to be made, before the new currency of money takes effect: This, as I find, by the great uneasiness of the people, is a matter that will require a very speedy provision, and, therefore, hope you will find such just and equal methods for it, as neither the debtors, on the one hand, nor creditors, on the other, may suffer by the alteration; to which I desire you may forthwith proceed, with as little loss of time as is possible; after which we
may

1709. may have opportunity to enter into consideration of such other matters, as may naturally fall before you."

The Assembly
reply to
the Govern-
or, &c.

The Governor's speech produced an answer from the Assembly, on the 14th; in which, besides insisting on what they had before advanced, they distinguished what they meant, in their address, when they said, "*The late Governor was too much influenced by evil counsel,*" by expressly throwing the whole blame on *James Logan*, and some other persons, who were not of the Governor's council. They moreover promised to make due provision for the support of government; and agreed to consider and prepare the bill, which the Governor recommended, as a very necessary part of their business; and then they hoped and expected a redress of their grievances.

The following is the Council's address to the Governor, in reference to the *evil counsel*, mentioned in the address of the Assembly, and replied to in the Governor's speech, but, in order of time, it precedes the Assembly's answer, *viz.*

The Council's
address
to the Governor.

"To the honourable *Charles Gookin*, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, on *Delaware*.

"*May it please the Governor,*

"WE, the members of Council for the said province, who attended the board, during the administration of the late Lieutenant Governor, upon viewing the address presented by the Assembly on the 9th day of March last, think ourselves obliged to observe, that, in the first paragraph of it, complaining of *aggrievances* and *oppressions*, which, they say, this province has, for some time, laboured under, occasioned by the irregular administration of the late Deputy Governor, they have thought

thought fit to add these words, *who was too much* 1709.
influenced by evil counsel; to whom the miseries
and confusions of the state, and divisions in the
government, are principally owing.

“ It was long, may it please the Governor, before we could induce ourselves to believe, that men, so well acquainted with the characters of most of us, in our several stations, in the country, could possibly intend us by the charge, until, by the observations of others, we were forced to take a nearer notice of the expressions; upon which we are sorry to find, that the word *counsel*, as there used, together with the general construction of the sentence, seems not to admit of any other interpretation, but that to us principally is owing whatever the Assembly has thought fit to complain of, or, can reduce, under the general terms they have used: if they will disavow any such intention, we shall crave no other satisfaction; but, if not, we must then desire, that they, and all men concerned in these affairs, may know,

“ That, notwithstanding the Proprietary and late Lieutenant Governor, according to the established rules in all governments whatsoever, from the most polite, to the most barbarous, nations in the world, finding themselves under a necessity of having a Council about them, to advise with, in affairs of government, have thought fit to choose us for that service, in which, according to our several solemn engagements, we have acquitted ourselves, to the best of our judgments and abilities, yet not one of us receives, or ever expects, any other advantage by it, than the satisfaction of having discharged our duties to the country we live in, and to advance the prosperity and happiness of it, as much as may lie in our power. We have no salaries, nor allowance, paid us by the country for this, nor offices of profit, to encourage us;
what

1709. what we do is at our own expence of time, trouble and charge, and upon our own estates is all our dependance, which, giving us as good an interest in the country, as others can pretend to, and being out of the reach of any possible views different from the good of the whole, no man, without a manifest violence to his reason, can imagine but that we are as much concerned, and, therefore, would be as careful to prevent and divert any *miseries, confusions, or divisions*, that may threaten the province, as any other sett of men whatsoever; so that this charge, from the Assembly, if levelled against us, is not only unjust, but will be judged, we believe, exceedingly ungrateful, by all that impartially consider us, and our circumstances, among our neighbours.

“ After this general accusation, involving us in all things, that have been irregularly committed, or, that any person can think so to have been, they enumerate four particulars, which they call *aggrievances*. To the two first we have nothing to say; and we hope no man can believe, that any one of us was so much as privy to them, much less that we *advised* them; we here solemnly declare, each for himself, that we did not. The other two we acknowledge ourselves to be concerned in, and shall always justify: that is, first, That we advised the Treasurer to take his directions from the law alone, and without regard to the partial order of the assembly to the contrary, to make his payments in equal portions; which, we hope, cannot be accounted a *grievance*: and in the next, To prevent the greatest of all possible *grievances*, the want of public justice, of which, by the measures taken by the Assembly of that time, the country was long deprived; we advised the Governor to make use of the powers, with which he was unquestionably vested, to open the courts again, and to restore the courts of justice to the
oppressed

oppressed country; which had long languished through the want of it, until they could be otherwise established. Men unacquainted with affairs of this kind, and who must take their information from others, may be imposed on by persons of design, and believe that to be irregular, which, in itself, is a most wholesome and necessary act; but we can, with assurance, affirm, that we had full satisfaction, from men of the best abilities, that what we advised and concurred in this matter, was regular, just and legal. 1709.

“ Upon the whole, may it please the Governor, though on the one hand, we shall be exceedingly unwilling to have any misunderstanding with the representatives of the people, well knowing it to be an unhappiness, that all reasonable measures should be taken to prevent; yet, on the other, we shall not, by any contrivances, be diverted from discharging the trust reposed in us, during our continuance, in this station, with honour and justice, to the best of our abilities; but, from time to time, shall offer to the Governor such advice as we shall judge most conducive to the general good of the province; in the welfare of which we are so nearly concerned, in our several private interests; and in the meantime, hope we may justly expect to be secured from calumny and misrepresentation.

“ EDWARD SHIPPEN,
“ SAMUEL CARPENTER,
“ JOSEPH GROWDON,
“ JASPER YEATES,
“ SAMUEL FINNY,
“ WILLIAM TRENT,
“ CALEB PUSEY,
“ RICHARD HILL.

“ With

1709.

“ With an exception to what is said of offices of profit, though I enjoy none, as a member of Council, I sign this.

“ JAMES LOGAN.

“ *Philadelphia, April 13, 1709.*”

The Assembly
displeased
with the
Council, &c.

The Governor having laid this representation of the Council before the Assembly, it produced an address to him, by way of answer, from the House. In this they blamed the Council, for seeming to apply to themselves, in general, what was meant by the words, *evil counsel*; of which, they said, they had given their explanation before, in their answer to the Governor's speech.* They were displeased at the Council's declaring, they had nothing to say, respecting the two particulars of *Evans's* conduct, mentioned in the Assembly's address, *viz.* That of the *false alarm*, in 1706, and the *affair at Newcastle*. As to the other two points, in regard to the Council's advising the Treasurer and the Governor, as they acknowledged themselves to have done; the Assembly appeared incensed at the Council's presuming to do the former, as it was not properly their office; and they censured them for opposing the late Assembly, in their advice to the Governor, on the bill of courts, and their assenting, at the same time, to the Governor's ordinance, for carrying into execution the same thing, and so nearly in the same manner, that the said bill was intended to do; in short, they were angry that the Council should present (in their words, *patronize*) such an address, so opposite to the views and drift of the House, and declared, they considered it, as an indignity offered to them, as well as to the late Assembly.

After

* The Council's address is dated prior to the Assembly's answer to the Governor's speech, &c.

After this was laid before the Governor, the Assembly presented a remonstrance, complaining of divers particulars, in the province, which they stiled *grievances*, and requesting his concurrence to remove and redress the same: some of which seem to have been either trifling, mistaken, or aggravated, and to shew more the temper of the House, than real grievances; the rest have already been mostly mentioned.

1709.

The Assembly present a remonstrance of grievances, &c.

The resentment of *David Lloyd*, the Speaker, against *James Logan*, and the too ready devotion of the House to his humour, are represented to have had too much place, in some of these transactions. It is scarcely to be doubted that there was real occasion, in some cases, to complain of grievances, which demanded proper attention and relief; but the word *grievance*, was become common, and so often used, that its proper application seems not always to have been sufficiently attended to; for it is certain, that by too much indulging a disposition and habit of complaint, it has sometimes remarkably affected the imaginations of men, and magnified, in appearance, what was but small, in reality; and there have been instances, wherein it has so far prevailed as to induce the mind entirely to mistake one thing for another, and to create a firm belief of the absolute existence of what, in truth, had no being.

Enmity between Lloyd and Logan too much the cause of these proceedings, &c.

There are but few things, for which an apology may not be made, and plausible reasons given; and it may reasonably be alledged that the views and intentions of some of these Assemblies, in thus carrying their disagreement with the Executive, in some cases, to such extreme, were good; and consequently mistake, or excess, in their conduct, might be the more excusable: for it is not to be denied that some good effects to the province, in reality, resulted from these proceedings. Be

Apology for the Assembly's conduct.

1709.

Though
not to be
justified in
everything,
&c.

that as it may, it ought likewise to be remembered, that no wrong action can justify the intention; nor can any profitable consequence alter the nature of an unwarrantable design; and however laudable, or just, the general views of some of these Assemblies may be alledged to have been, who carried affairs to such extremity, yet it sufficiently appears, that under the allegation of *grievances*, some of them too much gratified their animosity; and that, in part of these controversies, at least, they cannot, in every thing, be fully justified, notwithstanding certain good consequences may from them have arisen to the province; which is no certain proof that they might not have been the cause, or means, of preventing greater advantages from arising to it, besides too much endangering those, which they already enjoyed.

They did
not sufficiently
consider the ten-
dency of
such dis-
putes, &c.
Vid. antea.

But whatever were their real motives, they seem not to have duly considered the end, to which the nature of such continued discontents might finally tend, and the consequence of rendering the government more uneasy and disagreeable to the Proprietary, than was really and absolutely necessary: for the disposal of it to the crown, to which, as before hinted, he had such strong and various inducements, at a time, when measures were in agitation for reducing all the Proprietary governments to regal ones, would soon have freed him from all his difficulties, respecting the government of the province, and would have effectually enabled him to discharge all his debts and incumbrances, principally occasioned on its account; from which, so far as appears, he had too much reason to complain, as he did, of his small, inadequate and discouraging returns; besides the nature of these disagreements, and continued endeavours to diminish his power and interest in it, as appeared in the proposed bill of courts, and the attempts of the Assembly to turn his *quit-rents* to

to the support of his Deputy,* were further and great inducements for him to endeavour to diminish his difficulty and trouble on its account; more especially when it was in his power, in such an easy and effectual manner, to accomplish it; to which it also appears, by his private letters, yet extant in his own hand writing, he was sometimes so much disposed, that had he not studied what he was persuaded was the particular interest and real good of the province, before his own precarious gain, and present quiet, he would, before this time, have put the same in execution: for it was most probable, and he appears to have been fully of opinion, that the inhabitants of the province could not have been advantaged, or bettered, by such a change of government, in those times, but the contrary; provided they rightly understood their present privileges, and knew how

1709.

Vid. postea.

* The Assembly, in their address to Governor *Evans*, in 6 mo. 1708, says,

“ We know, that when the province was granted to the Proprietary, he had power, at his pleasure to convey any part, or parts thereof; and to erect manors, and to reserve such rents, customs and services, as he should think fit; in pursuance whereof, he sold lands to a great value, and reserved rents, sufficient, in a moderate way, to *maintain him, or his Lieutenant*, answerable to their station,” &c.

And afterwards, in their reply to the Governor's answer to the above, &c. (part of which see in the notes before, &c.) they again say,

“ Where is the extravagance of what we mentioned on this head? Is it, because we said, That the rents reserved are sufficient, in a moderate way, to *maintain the Proprietary or his Lieutenant*, answerable to their station? We see no cause to decline saying so still: and what, if we add, That we desire the Proprietary would be content to live upon his rents; and that fines, forfeitures, escheats, and other profits and perquisites of government should be employed for the common good, and public service of the government, it would not be without precedent?” &c.

“ We are not willing to suppose, when the Proprietary was favoured with the royal charter, and by virtue thereof assumed the government of this province, and entitled himself to royal mines, escheats, fines, forfeitures, and other profits (which, in their nature, are the rights of the crown, and, as such, ought to be employed for the common good) that he intended to *deck himself, or his Deputy, with these Jewels*, and not have directed them, and other supplies, given for the support of government, to be employed for the good of the public, as revenues of that nature ought to be, but we rather conclude, the contrary.”

[*Votes of Assembly, vol. ii.*]

1709. how to make a proper use of them; for otherwise liberty and privilege become pernicious.*

The wisest
councils
sometimes
err, &c.

But absolute, or unlimited, perfection is not to be expected in human nature; and if the wisest councils of men sometimes err, how much more may a young Assembly of honest, or well meaning, colonists be reasonably supposed liable to mistake their own real interest, under the most plausible views of any, in thus contending for what they thought the rights and privileges of the people? who, in a legislative capacity, had not yet arrived at that maturity of judgment, and prudence of action, which length of time and experience alone can give?

After having presented their remonstrance, the House adjourned; and at their next meeting, on the first day of the fourth month, the Governor made them the following speech, *viz.*

“Gentlemen,

The Governor's
speech to
the Assembly.

“The Queen, for the good of her subjects of the provinces, has fitted out an expedition, with great expense, for the retaking of *Newfoundland*, and for the conquest of *Canada*, and has entrusted Colonel *Vetch* with her Majesty's letters to the respective Governors, and instructions to agree on proper measures, for putting her Majesty's designs in execution. *Boston*, *Rhode Island* and *Connecticut* have outdone her Majesty's expectations; and I hope we shall not be wanting in our duty.

“The quota for this province is one hundred and fifty men, besides officers, to be victualled and paid, as those of the other governments; the charge,

* That is, they had more liberties and privileges, or means of rendering themselves happy, under the Proprietary, by a prudent and proper use of them, than could reasonably be expected, immediately under the crown; but, on the contrary, too great a mis-use of these, either by contention, or otherwise, might possibly render the regal government, or greater restraint, more beneficial, or better and happier, for a people so disposed; for the effects of privilege and liberty, in any case or situation, can only be happy or beneficial from a proper use of them.

charge, I suppose, will amount to about four 1709.
thousand pounds.

“ Perhaps it may seem difficult to raise that number of men, in a country where most of the inhabitants are obliged, by their principles, not to make use of arms; but, if you will raise, for the support of government, the sum demanded, I do not doubt getting the number of men, whose principles allow the use of them, and Commissioners may be appointed for disposal of the country's money; that the people may be satisfied, that the money is applied to no other use, than this expedition.

“ I must recommend to you the present circumstances of the three lower counties; you are not now *falsely alarmed*; *Newcastle* seems the only place, proper to make any defence; I find them ready and willing to do any thing, in their power, for the good of the country, and look on themselves as a frontier to you, though a weak one; and if they perish, in all probability, your destruction will not be far off; therefore, in my opinion, it is your interest, that they be furnished with all things necessary to oppose the enemy.

“ I have only to add, that, as all private affairs ought to be postponed to her Majesty's immediate service, so it will not consist with my duty to hearken to any proposals, or enter into any business with you, till her Majesty's commands be complied with; and, therefore, desire you will give this affair all possible dispatch.”

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XIX.

Observations on the nature of the Governor's requisition ; and the design of settling Pennsylvania by the Quakers ; who are principled against war.—The Assembly's conduct, on the occasion ; who vote a present to the Queen.—The Governor not satisfied with their offer ; and they adjourn.—Proceedings of the next meeting of Assembly.—They agree to augment the sum, voted before to the Queen ; and request the Governor's concurrence to divers bills.—Further dispute between the Governor and Assembly ; with reasons of the former for not agreeing with the latter ; upon which they remonstrate to the Governor, and are much displeased with the Secretary, James Logan.—Proceedings between the Governor, and the next Assembly, consisting principally of the same Members.—Their proceedings against James Logan.—His petition to them.—They are disappointed in their design against him by the Governor.—The Secretary goes to England, &c.

1709. **I**T cannot be supposed, but that the nature of this requisition must have created a difficulty with a people, who, by their religious persuasion, were not permitted to bear arms, nor to be actively, or immediately, concerned in promoting *military affairs* ; and such, at this time, were the inhabitants of the province, in general. It may likewise be

be here observed, that it does not appear reasonable why this principle of the *Quakers* against war, and the evil consequences arising from it, when duly considered, should be an objection, so very material, as some persons make it, against any class or description, of people, in the general community, whose profitable industry, and beneficent conduct, in all other respects, render them of so much the greater utility, and real benefit to the public and common good, even, in this, and every other department; and that more especially in these latter, more improved, or refined ages of the world, since war is become more a trade, or study of a certain class of men only, and more restricted to, and managed by, a part of the general community, appropriated to that purpose, than it was formerly, in the more barbarous state of mankind, when every one went to war, capable of bearing arms, while now it is experienced that the far greater part of the people, in all the most civilized states, are better, or more preferably employed, in promoting and procuring the necessary support of the whole community, at large: it would be a very great impropriety, to blame any one member of the human body, which is confined, or appointed to one particular office, for not performing that of another; for which it is neither qualified, nor intended, by the Author of human nature: the body politic consists of many parts, or members, as well as the human; and their offices, in a well regulated state, are as various: wisdom is no less requisite than strength; and the arts of peace, with the labours of the industrious colonist, are, at least, as necessary as those of war; which would soon make but a very sorry figure, in any nation, without those means, which are the effects of the former. Can any thinking and reflecting mind be so unacquainted with the excellency of those qualities,

1709.

The Quakers principles against war not to be so much blamed as they are by some, &c.

They are more consistent with humanity, than the contrary &c

1709. ties, which distinguish the rational from the irrational creation, as not to be sensible, that it is better by wisdom, or good policy, to prevent war, than by force of arms, and the art military to support, or only to suspend it? For it is impossible, that the application of a thing, by which, in reality, that same thing solely exists, and is kept alive, should put an end to it, or entirely take away its existence. War is certainly the greatest punishment in the world, that the Almighty hath assigned for the wickedness of the human race; and it is the departure of mankind from their true interest, and real good alone, which makes it necessary; consequently, as a principle of thinking and acting gains ground, or increases, in the world, which approaches nearest to the standard of truth, and takes away the cause of punishment, in the same proportion, must the necessity and practice of this evil decrease in it.

Aburd objections
against the
Quakers of
Pennsylvania.

But, of all people those appear to have the least reason to make this objection a subject of complaint against the *Quakers* of *Pennsylvania*, who, knowing their principle, in this respect, nevertheless, in preference to all the rest of the colonies, and, even, to all the rest of the world, which were before them, equally free for their choice, have removed from various distant parts, and settled among them; yet many such have been known in this province! But, which is still more remarkable, that people professedly of a different way of thinking, in this particular, should, in greater numbers, and much more abundantly, flock into *Pennsylvania*, from abroad, than into any other of the colonies besides; and yet this has been the real case here, both in later years, and also in the more early times of the province: which certainly shewed a very distinguishing preference, which, in reality, was thereby given to the *Quakers* and their principles, notwithstanding
the

the high absurdity, which any of those people, 1709. who have thus made *Pennsylvania* their choice, may since have exhibited, by declaiming against them on this account: for it cannot be reasonably supposed they were ignorant that this country, and the government of it, could not possibly have been granted, at first, to the *Quakers*, on account of their *fighting principles*, or that they should *defend it with arms*, by any who properly knew them, notwithstanding they were empowered, or entrusted, so to do, if they chose it; but, on the contrary, for those other qualifications, at least, not less necessary and beneficial, for the support and real happiness of any country, of which the King and government, at that time, were fully sensible the *Quakers* were possessed; because, in a nation, where sufficient numbers of fighting men are not wanting, on occasion, and may, at any time, be had for money, to defend all parts of its dominions, and where no man, by the laws, is compelled to fight, who pays his equivalent to the support of the government, there would be no absolute necessity, neither was it intended, in the grant of the province, and of the powers of governing it, under the crown, to take these peaceable people from that proper attention, which was due to the department, in which they were placed, for the general good, in their civil capacity; nor, on that account, to oppress any one part of the community, for the sake of the other's advantage, unequally.

Intention of
the grant
and govern-
ment of
Pennsylva-
nia, &c.

This appears to have been the principal end and design of the *British* government, at first, respecting this province, notwithstanding those demands of a *military nature*, which, either from a mistaken notion of thereby more effectually serving the public utility, or from other views, different from the real nature and original design of the first settlement and constitution of *Pennsylvania*, have

1709.

since been made from it; not sufficiently adverting to the natural, advantageous, and more excellent consequences, which absolutely, and of necessity must always ultimately arise from the principle, practice, industry, and virtue of such a people, to the general community, in proportion to the small number of those, who hold this principle, as the *Quakers* do; a number, which, in all probability, if we may judge of the future by the past, from the nature and effect of such a principle, as held by them, whether viewed in a favourable, or unfavourable light, will never be very large.*

Number of
Quakers ne-
ver likely
to be very
great, &c.

The Assembly having considered the Governor's speech, divers of the Members consulted a number of their principal constituents, and Members of Council, being *Quakers*, on the occasion;† which the House mentioned, in their address, or answer to the Governor; in which they declared,

“That were it not, that the raising of money to hire men to fight (or kill one another) was matter of conscience to them, and against their religious principles, they should not be wanting, according to their abilities, to contribute to those designs.” They expressed their regard and loyalty to the Queen, and their prayer for the long continuance of her reign, and concluded, “That, though they could not, for *conscience sake*, comply with the furnishing a supply for such a defence, as the

* Consistent with the nature and principle of this favour, or indulgence to the *Quakers* of *Pennsylvania*, in great measure, and with the same design, was that afterwards granted by the *British* government to the *Moravians*; who have since removed into, and settled in the province, &c. By the stat. 22. Geo. 2, C. 30. encouragement is given to the *Moravians*, to settle in the plantations in *America*, by allowing them to take a *solemn affirmation* in lieu of an *oath*, and dispensing with their not being concerned in *military affairs*, on payment of a rate assessed.

† The Members of Council, consulted on this occasion, being all *Quakers*, and of the principal men in the province, were, Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Joseph Growdon, Caleb Pusey, Samuel Preston, Isaac Norris, and James Logan, &c.

the Governor proposed, yet, in point of gratitude to the Queen, for her great and many favours to them, they had resolved to raise a present of *five hundred pounds,*" &c. 1709.
The Assembly vote a present to the Queen,

By this mode of business they appear to have made, or intended, a distinction between granting supplies for the support of government, in general, or, for its mixt purposes and uses collectively, and that of contributing for the military alone; besides their not being answerable for the application particularly, or for the duty of the executive part of the government: whereby it may be supposed, they thought they acted conscientiously, according to their religious principles, in contributing their proportion of what is absolutely due to the general support of government, or supreme authority, according to the practice of the primitive Christians; the benefit and protection of which they enjoyed in common with others, and as they were not actively concerned either in directing or executing that authority; which was out of their line of duty; though this their mode ultimately answered equally the Governor's request, or intention. For the general support of the government.

Being not answerable for the application &c

To this they added, in their address, "That they humbly hoped he would be pleased to accept this, as a testimony of their unfeigned loyalty, and thankful acknowledgment, for her grace and clemency towards them, and the rest of her subjects; and though the meanness of the present were such as was unworthy of the favour of her acceptance (which indeed, said they, was caused not through want of good-will, and loyal affection, but by inability and poverty, occasioned by great losses, late taxes misapplied,* lowness of the staple The Assembly plead poverty, &c.

* The Assembly, in their reply to the Governor's answer to this address, express, in the following words, what they meant by *misapplication of taxes, viz.*

" And

1709. staple commodities of the country, great damp upon trade, and their neighbours non-compliance with the Queen's proclamation for reducing the coin) yet they hoped she would be graciously pleased to regard the hearty and cordial affections of them, her *poor subjects*, instead of a present of value; and to prevent misapplication thereof, they had agreed, that it should be accounted part of the Queen's revenue.

"They, therefore, humbly entreated the Governor to put a candid construction upon their proceedings, and represent them favourably to their gracious sovereign, the Queen; to whom they trusted they should ever approve themselves (though poor) her most loyal and dutiful subjects," &c.

The Governor not content with the sum offered &c.

The Governor was dissatisfied with this answer, principally on account of the smallness of the sum; and, in reply, represented the urgent necessity of their further exerting themselves, on the occasion. But the Assembly pleaded their poverty and inability, and adhered to their resolve of presenting the Queen with £. 500, requesting the Governor duly to consider the nature of such a refusal, and of his interposing between them and their Sovereign, in such a case.

He urges them to give a larger sum, &c.

The Governor again, in his turn, pressed their compliance to a more generous contribution, declaring, his present conduct, in the affair, to be his indispensable duty, in consequence of the Queen's letter; and of the utmost importance to them, to secure

"And to explain what we mean by *misapplying of taxes*, we must acquaint thee, that about three years ago, a tax was laid on this province of *two pence half penny* per pound, and an impost and excise, upon some goods imported and retailed, which was appropriated to certain uses, *viz, eight hundred pounds*, with half the impost, to the support of government; this the late Lieutenant Governor received, with other perquisites, which ought to be applied to the support of government, as the late Assembly signified to him, in August last, whereunto we refer; the money, so appropriated, has *notwithstanding the express words of the act*, been kept, or *misapplied* by him; and he refused to give the last Assembly any account thereof," &c.

secure her favour, and disappoint those, who desired a dissolution of the present government. 1709.

After this several messages and answers passed between the Governor and Assembly, on the subject, but without any effect; for the House, being determined to adhere to their resolve, concluded it to be their opinion, that, as the Governor had refused to give his assent to their proposal of raising the £. 500, above mentioned, and to proceed to other business, till it was now too late, in the season, to sit longer, at present, they would therefore adjourn, till the harvest was over. They adhere to their resolve.

Of this the Governor, being informed, by a written message from the House, it produced further altercation, or dispute between them; the Governor being determined to proceed to no other business, till that of the Queen was first issued; and the House declaring, they would not agree to the Governor's proposal of raising money, either directly, or indirectly, for the expedition to *Canada*, for the reasons they had given; yet they continued their resolution of raising £. 500, as a present to the Queen, and intended to prepare a bill for that purpose, at their next meeting, on the 15th day of August next; to which time they adjourned. The Assembly adjourn.

The Governor convened the Assembly before the time, to which they had adjourned; and, in a speech, he told them, "That their enemies, having plundered *Lewistown*, watered in the *bay*, and founded it, as they passed along, gave alarming apprehensions of a nearer visit; and that he demanded some provision to be immediately made, in case of emergency."—"That the chiefs of several *Indian* nations, being in town, a supply was immediately requisite, to make them a suitable present; that the importance of their friendship,

Purport of the Governor's speech, &c.

1709. ship, and the easy terms of maintaining it, were sufficiently evident;”—“That, of the money, which had been appropriated for that use, now nothing remained, for a present to them; and that, though money could not so suddenly be raised, as the case required, yet they might find means to procure credit, so as that they might not go away empty.”—“That there was no manner of provision for the Governor’s support; That the Proprietary, on whom the Assembly had too often had expectation, in the case, had, by his late hard treatment, from some, whom he had too far trusted, been entirely disabled (were it in itself reasonable) to continue any such provision; consequently their immediate resolution was absolutely necessary to contribute what was proper in this point; otherwise they must expect a change that would prove more chargeable.”

Part of the
Assembly’s
answer, &c.

They agree
to augment
the sum
voted be-
fore, &c.

The Assembly expressed their concern for what had happened at *Lewistown*; and that the Governor was already acquainted how far the generality of the people of the province could oppose such an attempt. They admired, that, after such large sums, raised for the support of government, they were notwithstanding left so unprovided, as the Governor had represented; and they earnestly requested his assistance, to call the late Governor and Secretary to account, for the money, which, they said, should have been applied to the use of the public. To the £. 500, which they had already voted, they agreed to add £. 300 more, for the other necessary expenses, besides £. 200, towards the Governor’s support. They intimated their expectation of his concurrence to redress their grievances, and recommended to his consideration a number of bills, prepared by former Assemblies, and agreed to by the present; of which

which one was for establishing courts,* &c. to all which they desired to have his concurrence, or to know his objections. 1709.

The Governor, in reply, acknowledged he was made sensible, that many inhabitants of the province could not, in any case, bear arms, so he did not propose it to them, but only a necessary supply in money, without engaging any man against his religious persuasion. That, in regard to what they had said respecting *Colonel Evans* and the *Secretary*, he could not well understand it; the former having affirmed, he received only what was directly allowed by the Assembly, for his own support, and thought himself not at all accountable for it; and that the Secretary seemed to admire what should induce the House to name him, upon that occasion; there being none of it payable to him, but for his own services as an officer. That he thanked them, for taking his support into their consideration, hoping future provision of that kind would be made more easy; and that he would readily agree to any thing, consistent with his duty, and the trust reposed in him.

Purport of
the Govern-
or's reply.

That, respecting the bills, the Proprietary was not at all against establishing courts by law, yet his instructions would not permit him to agree to those points, in the bill, which broke in, either upon his powers in government, or his just interest; The Governor cannot agree to any bill against the Proprietors power or interest, &c.

* These bills were about eleven or twelve, in number; their titles were, 1. For establishing courts of judicature, in the province. 2. For regulating and establishing fees. 3. For confirming patents and grants, and to prevent law suits. 4. For empowering religious societies, towns, &c. to buy, hold and dispose of land, &c. 5. Of privilege to a freeman. 6. To oblige witnesses to give evidence, and to prevent false swearing. 7. To prevent the sale of ill tanned leather. 8. That no public house or inn, within the province, be kept without licence. 9. Against menacing, and assault and battery. 10. To prevent disputes, which may hereafter arise about dates of conveyances, and other instruments and writings. 11. For the more effectual raising of levies, in the several counties of the province, and the city of Philadelphia, and appropriating the same. 12. For the priority of the payment of debts, to the inhabitants of this province.

1709. rest; why such a bill should interfere with these, he could not see; but as he was willing to agree to a bill, for the ease and security of the people, in that respect, properly regulated, and, on his part, to do his duty, so he hoped they would be careful to offer him nothing that he could not assent to, without a violation of his honour and trust, &c. he recommended their reviewing the bills, passed by the former Assemblies; and thanked them for the provision, which they had made for the *Indians*: which concluded the sessions.

The Assembly persist in their former demands.

The Assembly, at their next sitting, in August, notwithstanding the Governor's recommending them to conduct their proceedings so far conformable to the powers, he had to oblige them, that their labours might not be in vain, and his pointing out to them the exceptionable parts of the bill of courts, &c. still remained tenacious of their own method, and adhered to their former claims. Upon which, at their next meeting, on the 28th of September, he sent them a written message, which concludes with the following paragraph.

Part of a message from the Governor.

“ But now, gentlemen, I must be so plain as to tell you, that, though I have been very desirous to see all these matters brought to a ripeness, that they might actually be passed into laws, yet, until I see the country as ready to discharge their duty, in providing for my support, in the administration, independent of any supply from the Proprietary, who, as I told you before, cannot now (were it even reasonable) spare any part of his estate here, to that purpose, I shall account myself very unjust to the duty I owe myself, if I concur in any other public act, in legislation, though truly inclinable to do all, for the advantage of the public, that can reasonably be expected from me: but a Governor cannot lie under a greater obligation to the people, than they do to him; nor can that be
accounted

accounted a free gift from them, which is but ^{1709.} their indispensable duty; for, at this time, there is no support for a Governor, in this government, but what must be granted by an act of an Assembly. You have told me, that you had voted *five hundred pounds* to the Queen, *three hundred pounds* for the service of the public, and *two hundred pounds* to me; and you have lately informed me, that when I had passed the other acts, the Speaker would present a bill to me, for raising that money. It is possible when the others were passed, the Speaker might do so; but, can it, in reason, be expected, that, while you shew so unprecedented and unusual diffidence, on your side, that you would not so much as let me see the bill, but in private, nor allow, that it should, upon any terms, be communicated to the Council, with whom I am to advise, (though you cannot but be sensible, that, should I design it, yet it is not in my power to pass a bill into a law, until the Speaker has signed it) which is usually done at the time of passing it. Could it be expected, I say, that I should pass all that you desired of me, and then depend on your presenting that bill? Or, can it be thought reasonable, or, for the security of the public, that I should pass an act, for raising and applying *eight hundred pounds*, for several uses, besides those *two hundred pounds*, said to be granted to me, without taking proper advice upon it, of those, whom the discharge of my duty, as well as my inclinations, obliges me to consult, in all public matters; nor that I should have it in my power to object to, or alter, any part of the whole bill, after it is presented? No, gentlemen, as I have no designs, but what are plain and honest, so I must expect a suitable treatment; and, therefore, I now desire you faithfully to lay before the people, whom you represent, and to whom you are returning, what I have here said to you;

The Assembly allow not their bill to be communicated to the Council, &c

1709. and, upon this occasion, assure them from me, that unless they take care to grant a requisite support, and in such a manner, as is fit to be accepted, I shall not at all think myself concerned to attend the affairs of the public, in legislation; and what measures the Proprietary will find himself obliged to take at home, I have formerly sufficiently hinted to you; but as I shall not be wanting, on my side, to concur in any thing, that is reasonable, so I hope, the next time I meet the representatives of the people, we shall have such confidence in each other, and they will so far consider their duty, and take such methods, for effecting business, that all things necessary may be concluded to our mutual satisfaction, for the true advantage and benefit of this province."

The Governor refuses further to act, unless he is supported, &c.

The Governor restrained from passing any bill without consent of the Council, &c.

Their greatest resentment against James Logan, &c.

By this plain declaration of the Governor, the Assembly easily perceived, to their great mortification, that, by reason of the Proprietary's instructions, the Governor could not pass any bill, without the advice, or approbation of his Council; which, how reasonable soever it might appear, in itself, was deemed to have no foundation in the royal charter; by which the whole power of legislation was understood to be vested in the Governor, and the representatives of the people. This the House observed in their remonstrance to the Governor, the next day, declaring, that had they known he was so restricted, they would neither have given him, nor themselves, so much trouble, as they had done: they likewise complained of some other matters, that were not redressed: but their greatest resentment appears, in this remonstrance, to be against the Secretary, *James Logan*; against whom is exhibited, in a very angry manner, a long complaint; representing him as the grand obstacle of their proceedings; and, that, though they had endeavoured to reduce him within proper bounds, yet, by reason of his great influence

influence with the Governor and Proprietary, he ^{1709.} was now advanced above their power, obstructed all their public transactions, that did not please him, treated the Members of the House with insult and abuse, and, in effect, was the chief cause of their grievances and calamities.

In October next following, the same Members of Assembly were mostly re-elected, and *David Lloyd* again chosen Speaker: to whom the Governor, in his speech, on the 17th, after having mentioned divers other affairs, before the former Assembly, unfinished, and further pressed their making due provision for the support of the lieutenancy of the government, a duty, which, he said, was so incumbent upon them, that without it, no government could have a being; he thus expressed himself:

“ Gentlemen, you are met for no other end, than to serve the country, whom you represent; I hope, therefore, you will study all possible means, that may contribute to the real happiness of that: which, I believe, you will find, may be much promoted by improving a good understanding between you and me, in our respective stations. Part of the Governor's speech to the Assembly.

“ I would not willingly look back upon some of the proceedings of the last House, only from thence I must give you a necessary caution, to dwell less, than has been done, on that general language of *evil counsel*, or counsellors, generally used, as an artful method, to strike at the *counselled*; but, with me, I believe, without occasion; or, that of *grievances* and *oppressions*, words, by God's blessing, understood by few, (I find) in this province, who form them not in their own *imaginations*; for I assure you, gentlemen, if we are not as happy as the circumstances of the place will admit, it lies much in your power to make us so;
of

1709. of which I hope you will consider, and use your endeavours accordingly, with a full resolution to remove whatever may stand in the way.

“ I have already said, that I would not look back to the proceedings of the last House; but the Secretary has found himself so much aggrieved by their remonstrance, that he has presented, for my perusal, a long defence; in which I shall not think myself any further concerned, than to observe to you, that, to my surprise, he has charged the Speaker of that House with some proceedings, which, if true, will require your consideration, and some further measures to be taken upon them; for which reason, I have ordered him to lay a copy of them before you; and I must say, if that representation be well grounded, I cannot see that, under this government, such a person can be accounted fit for that station; but, at present, I shall no further enquire into it, only recommend to you, to proceed with diligence, in whatever is incumbent on you, in your stations, as well in this, as in all other matters, that may concern the welfare of the public, and honor of this government, as now established.”

The Assembly give an answer the next day.

Part of their answer.

This the Assembly answered the next day; telling the Governor, that, among other things, they also had under consideration the making provision for his support; and, after having made some angry reflections against the Secretary, whom they considered, in great measure, as the cause of the misunderstanding between them and the Governor, they said:—“ But, may it please the Governor, we beg leave to observe, that the duty incumbent on us, to contribute to this general support of the lieutenancy, is grounded upon a condition precedent; so that the people, according to the fundamental rules of the *English* government,

vernment, are not obliged to contribute to the support of that administration, which affords them no redress, when their rights are violated, their liberties infringed, and their representative body affronted and abused: hence it is, that that branch of the legislative authority seldom move to give supplies till their aggrivances are redressed, and reparation made, for the *indignities* they meet with from the other branch of the same authority. 1709.

“ We are very sensible that the end of our meeting is to serve the country; and we assure the Governor, there shall be nothing wanting, on our parts, to promote it, and improve a good understanding between him and us, in our respective stations: but let not the language of the representatives of the people, about *evil counsellors*, *grievances* and *oppressions*, be irksome to the Governor; for we shall not answer the true end of our meeting, nor discharge our duty and trust to those, that sent us, if we be silent, and not insist upon redressing those things, that are amiss, with a resolution to use our endeavours to remove what appears to stand in the way.

“ We have, with all the application, this short time could allow, informed ourselves of the proceedings of the late Assemblies, and find no just grounds for the Governor to suppose that their complaints of *evil counsel* or *counsellors* have been used as methods to strike at him; but, we believe, it was their care, as we find it to be ours, that the Governor may not be imposed on, or prevailed with, to adhere to *evil counsel*, and render his actings inconsistent.

“ We suppose it needless to be more express, than the late Assembly have been, to demonstrate what an enemy the Secretary has been to the welfare of this province; and how abusive he has been

1709. been to the representatives of the people ; so that we can do no less than repeat the request of former Assemblies, to have him removed from the Governor's Council ; which we doubt not will be a most effectual means to improve a good understanding between thee and us.

“ If the Governor will look back, and duly consider the complaints and remonstrances of the late Assemblies, it will appear, that *grievances* and *oppressions* are words, which are formed upon just complaints ; and for which the country wants redress ; so that what the Governor supposes, on that head, is not candid towards the representatives of the people.

“ May it please the Governor, whatever might be the occasion, or design, of the last clause, in thy speech, we are of opinion, it was not well timed ; for if the Secretary's charge, against our Speaker, had any weight, it should have been propounded as an objection against the Assembly's choice of him, for Speaker : but, after thou hadst declared thy approbation of their choice, that thou shouldst be prevailed upon so far to patronize the Secretary's insinuation against the Speaker, as to make it a part of thy speech to us, before we had seen, or heard, the charge, we can do no less than resent it, as an *indignity* offered to this House ; for, though we are men, that cannot be much meaner in the Governor's eye, than we are in our own esteem, yet we must put him in mind, that, since the royal charter commits this part of the legislative authority to our care, we ought to have the regard, due to our stations.”

After this the Governor went to *Newcastle* ; and in the mean time the Assembly adjourned. On their meeting again, about the beginning of November, the Secretary, *James Logan*, intending for

for *England*, presented to them a petition,* request-
 ing that preparation might be made for his trial,
 upon the impeachment of a former Assembly, in
 the year 1706. They, therefore, fell upon his
 case, and took into consideration his defence; and
 his charge against their Speaker, *David Lloyd*,
 mentioned

1709.

The Secre-
 tary petiti-
 ons the Af-
 sembly for
 his trial, &c.

* This petition was as follows :

“ To the House of Representatives of the province of *Pennsylvania*;

“ The petition of *James Logan*, Secretary of the said province,
 “ in most humble manner sheweth,

“ THAT, whereas the Assembly of this province, chosen the first day of October, 1706, thought fit (as is well known to you) in the month of February, in the same year, to exhibit to the then Lieutenant Governor, certain articles of impeachment against me; copies of which have been industriously diffused abroad; and, since that time, other complaints have also been presented; and upon the presumption, that those accusations might be true, divers applications have been made, by the last Assembly, to the present Lieutenant Governor, requesting that I might be removed from his Council, &c.

“ Yet, so it is, may it please the House, that not one of these articles, or complaints, have ever, to this day, been duly heard, or, at any time, so proved, or, even, rendered intelligible, as that, according to justice, I might have the opportunity of answering them, or speaking in my own justification, notwithstanding I had, by several repeated instances, earnestly pressed to obtain that favour; by which means, and the endeavours, that divers persons, highly disaffected to me, have used to calumniate me, among the inhabitants of the province, I have been most grievously injured and oppressed; now, inasmuch as, for some months past, it has been generally known, that I am speedily to undertake a voyage for *Great Britain*, whither the Proprietor's affairs do, at present, urgently call me; and being, by the late Assembly's most bitter remonstrance against me, laid under a greater necessity than ever, to clear myself of the several unjust imputations, that have been thrown on me, lest any person, in those distant places, to which I am to repair, and to which the Assembly's papers have been solicitously transmitted, should be so far imposed on, as to believe that those accusations, without any trial, have really some weight in them; which, upon a trial, notwithstanding, I have no cause to doubt, but will totally disappear: I, therefore, humbly beseech this House, that, for rendering me the relief, that is due to the great wrongs, I have sustained, they would be graciously pleased to order all those, who have appeared against me, the severest and most implacable, of my enemies, whoever they be, to proceed in prosecuting me, with their utmost zeal and ardour; that the very worst of my failings, in public affairs, may be drawn in the most legible characters, and exposed without mercy, to the eyes of all men; to the end that, in beholding them, they may fully know the extent of my crimes; and thereupon regard me, as I shall be found to deserve, and not otherwise.

“ But, because the time of my departure now draws nigh, I must, therefore, further beseech the House, that this prosecution may be carried on, within such a convenient time, as is consistent with the shortness
 of

1709.

They issue
out a war-
rant to ap-
prehend
the Secre-
tary, &c.

mentioned in the Governor's speech. They carried their resentment so far, in the affair, that they actually issued out a warrant to the high Sheriff of the city and county of *Philadelphia*, signed by the Speaker, for apprehending the Secretary, and for committing him to the county gaol of *Philadelphia*, founded on what they thus expressed, in the said warrant, viz. "*For his offence, in reflecting upon sundry Members of this House, in particular, and the whole House, in general, charging the proceedings of this Assembly with unfairness and injustice.*"*

But,

of my intended stay; and, particularly, that it may not extend beyond the twelfth of this instant; that being the utmost (as far as I can at present judge) that I shall be able to attend it; and, I hope, will prove a sufficient time, to dispatch all that is necessary to such a trial; within the compass of which space, I have been well assured, the Governor will be ready, on his part, to hear whatever shall be alledged against me, and as far as in him lies, give such judgment thereupon, as to justice shall belong. And I do further earnestly request the House, that they will be pleased to order, that, as speedily as may be, I may have full copies of all the petitions, that have been exhibited against me, to any of the past Assemblies, and that I may be favoured with an opportunity of comparing them with the originals: For your special favour in all which,

"Your humble petitioner shall, as in duty bound, &c.

"JAMES LOGAN."

"November the 1st, 1709."

* The following is a copy of the warrant, or order, for apprehending the Secretary.

"At the Assembly held at *Philadelphia* the 25th day of November, 1709.

"The House of Representatives did yesterday adjudge *James Logan*, for his offence, in reflecting upon sundry Members of this House in particular, and the whole House in general, charging the proceedings of this Assembly with unfairness and injustice.

"These are, therefore, in the behalf of the said House of Representatives to require and charge thee to attach the body of the said *James Logan*, and him take forthwith into thy custody, within the county gaol of our lady the Queen, for the county of *Philadelphia*, under thy charge, and him therein safely to detain and keep, until he shall willingly make his submission, to the satisfaction of this House, or of such order as this House shall take for the same, during the continuance of this present Assembly; and this shall be thy sufficient warrant in that behalf.

"Given under my hand, this twenty-fifth day of November, 1709.

"DAVID LLOYD, Speaker."

"To Peter Evans, Esq. Sheriff of the city and county of *Philadelphia*."

But, by a *superfedeas* from the Governor, the execution thereof was prevented, to the great displeasure of the Assembly; as appears by their resolves, in the minutes of the House; wherein they assert, “*That this measure of the Governor was illegal and arbitrary.**”

1709.
Their design frustrated by the Governor, &c.

The temper and disposition of the House now were such, that, after this, it does not appear any further transactions passed between the Governor and this Assembly.

But the Secretary, by reason of his useful abilities, and faithful services, to the Proprietary, was

VOL. II.

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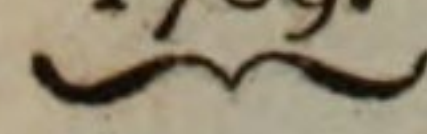
* The following is a transcript of what the Governor directed to the Sheriff, on this occasion; which further shews the extremity of this proceeding, viz.

(L. S.) “*CHARLES GOOKIN, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.*

“*To Peter Evans, Esquire, High Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia.*

“*WHEREAS, the Members chosen to serve in Assembly, for this province, as appears by certain resolves, and divers expressions used by them, on this occasion, as I am credibly informed, have threatened to take into custody James Logan, Secretary of this province, and a Member of Council for the same; and thereby would prevent his intended voyage towards Great Britain; whither the Proprietor's affairs do call him, in which he is now ready to embark, notwithstanding it has never appeared that any Assembly in this province are, in themselves, vested with any authority to attach any person, who is not of their own house, and much less a Member of Council: nor is there any jurisdiction yet, for the trial of such as they account offenders against them: and notwithstanding, at the time of making the said resolves, they were not legally an Assembly, nor, for the future, can be such, until I shall see cause to call them. [Note, this is said on account of their having dropped their adjournment.] Now, to prevent any disorder, that may arise from such undue and irregular proceedings, I do hereby require and strictly command you, the said Sheriff, that you suffer not the said James Logan to be any wise molested by virtue of any order, or pretended order, of Assembly, whatever; and, in case any of the said Assembly, or others, under pretence of any authority derived from them, shall attempt to attach, or molest, the said James Logan, in his person, I do hereby command you to oppose such attachment, and that you, by all means in your power, take effectual care that the peace of our sovereign lady, the Queen, be kept, and all offenders against the same be opposed, or committed, as rioters; for which this shall be your sufficient authority.*

“*Given under my hand, and seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, 28, 9br. 1709.*”

1709.  so thoroughly fortified in both his and the Governor's esteem and confidence, that he was above the power of his opponents; he prosecuted his voyage to *England*; and with such perseverance and ability vindicated himself, and so far succeeded against the violence of the opposition, that he not only survived the storm, and continued in his offices, but also was afterwards President of the province; and discharged the office with much reputation to himself and satisfaction to the public, as will hereafter appear; and after a wise recess of many years from the cumber of public affairs, at last, in the year 1751, honourably finished his days, in a happy tranquillity.

The Secretary Logan, proceeds to England, and disapproves their views, &c.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XX.

Party spirit endangers the government and constitution.—The Proprietor's letter to the Assembly, respecting their late transactions.—An entire new Assembly elected in October 1710.—Names of the Members.—Harmony between the Governor and this Assembly productive of more agreeable and better consequences, &c.—Proceedings of the Legislature in consequence of an express from England, received by the Governor, relating to an expedition against Canada.—The Queen's letter of instructions to him.—The colony thought to be over-rated in the requisition; yet the Assembly vote two thousand pounds for the Queen's use.—The next year produces a change in the Assembly.—The Proprietor, in his letters, desires to serve the country, &c.—The Proprietor agrees to dispose of the government to the Queen; and is seized with an apoplexy.—Wine and rum imported in 1712.—Settlement of New Garden and London Grove, in Chester county.—Samuel Carpenter.—The Governor's writ for summoning the Assembly.—Altercation between them.

WHILE human nature is subject to infirmity, and so long as some men are wiser and better than others, will the actions of mortals, whether good or bad, have different constructions put upon them, and

1709.

1709. and be attended with approbation and contradiction, according to their believed importance, and the various mediums, through which they are seen: this province appears to have been never entirely without a discontented and murmuring party in it, from the beginning, or, at least, from very early times; who thought it their duty and interest constantly to oppose the Proprietary, in all cases indiscriminately, where either his power, or interest, was concerned; and though frequently but small and weak, yet they were sufficiently able to embarrass the public proceedings, and endanger the general tranquillity, according as time and opportunity offered: these, for a number of years past, having, by continual complaints of great and numerous grievances unredressed, worked up the minds of many well-disposed persons, in the province, into the belief of the reality of more of this kind than ever existed in it, thereby occasioned hard thoughts of the Proprietary, and somewhat of an unworthy treatment, even, from some of his friends; insomuch, that, for a considerable time, they had obtained a majority in the Assembly, and visibly acted in the extreme against him.

Party in the
province in
early time,
&c.

Party in-
creased by
the Propri-
etor's ab-
sence, &c.

The increase of this opposition seems principally to have arisen from the Proprietary's absence, his not seeing with his own eyes, and trusting his affairs too much to deputies; to which the nature and necessity of his situation and circumstances, in these times, particularly obliged him; as fully appears by many of his private letters, during the latter part of his life, largely expressing his ardent and longing desire to live and die in this country; consequently some things, in his province, were not in that order, which could have been desired, though far from being as they were represented; which, in such a new, young and unexperienced government,

government, in a colony composed of such an heterogeneous mixture of people of different humours, opinions and interests, and in a land of so great liberty, as this then was, so much the more required the presence of an able and constant hand, to manage and redress; though, in the whole, compared with others, it was manifestly in a very happy, thriving and flourishing condition. 1709.

From hence, however, his adversaries, and the discontented party, took occasion to magnify what was amiss; and, as it is an easy matter to persuade people that they are aggrieved, more especially when under such a variety of difficulties as is common and natural, at least in some degree, to any new settlement of this kind, they, therefore, influenced many of the *well-meaning* to join in the opposition; which was now carried on with a high hand; though, it is, with great reason, apprehended, divers of these neither designed, nor saw, the consequence, to which their proceedings naturally and ultimately tended; which, at length, about this time, produced the following severe and exhortatory letter from the Proprietary to the Assembly, *viz.*

And endangers the government and constitution, &c.

“ London, 29th 4th mo. 1710.

“ My old Friends,

“ It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments, which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province, in a language, I once hoped, I should never have occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions, that I have met with from thence, oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to exhortate with you, concerning the causes of them.

The Proprietor's letter to the Assembly in 1710.

“ When

1710.

“ When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services, done to many hundreds of people; and it was no small satisfaction to me, that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect; and wanting nothing to make themselves happy, but what, with a right temper of mind, and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arose from thence; the many combats, I have engaged in; the great pains, and incredible expense, for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate; of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects; with the undeserved opposition, I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow; that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble and poverty.

“ For this reason I must desire you all, even, of all professions and degrees, for although all have not been engaged in the measures, that have been taken, yet every man, who has an interest there, is, or must be, concerned in them, by their effects; I must, therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been, doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions, and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me, and my interest, which I have met with; as if I were
an

an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent, both here and there: I am sure, I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand; provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with. 1710.

“ Before any one family had transported themselves thither, I earnestly endeavoured to form such a model of government, as might make all, concerned in it, easy; which, nevertheless, was subject to be altered, as there should be occasion. Soon after we got over, that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable; the numbers of members, both in the Council and Assembly, were much too large; some other matters also proved inconsistent with the King’s charter to me; so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower counties were brought in, it was well known, at that time, to be on a view of advantage to the province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

“ Upon this they had another charter passed, *nemine contradicente*; which I always desired might be continued, while you yourselves would keep up to it, and put it in practice; and many there know much it was against my will, that, upon my last going over, it was vacated. But after this was laid aside (which indeed was begun by yourselves, in Colonel *Fletcher’s* time) I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges, that were found convenient for your good

1710. good government; and, if any part of it has been, in any case, infringed, it was never by my approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted, under that name, to a licentiousness; the design of government is to preserve good order; which may be equally broke in upon by the turbulent endeavours of the people, as well as the overstraining of power, in a Governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and Assembly; and that they should have the same privileges in it, that any other Assembly has, in the Queen's dominions; among all which this is one constant rule, as in the parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments; but to strain this expression to a power, to meet, at all times during the year, without the Governor's concurrence, would be to distort government, to break the due proportion of the parts of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of government. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive, much time and money has been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things, that cannot, at all, be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of; particularly the appointing of Judges; because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times, to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquillity and prosperity of the province and government, in all its branches, could I see that any of these things, that have been contended for, would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But seeing the frame of every government ought to

to

1710.

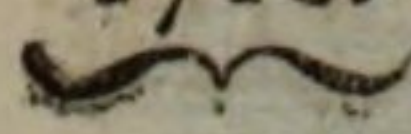
to be regular in itself, well proportioned and subordinate, in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty, for the support of the whole, I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it, than to take so much of the provision, and executive part of the government out of the Governor's hands, and lodge it in an uncertain collective body; and more especially since our government is dependent, and I am answerable to the crown, if the administration should fail, and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations I cannot think it prudent, in the people, to crave these powers; because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it; could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting any thing of this kind, that were asked of me, with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe, the contentions, that have been raised about these matters, have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire, notwithstanding, at the bottom, to serve the public (which, I hope, has still been the inducement of several concerned in them) I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner, in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation, the many indignities put upon me, in papers sent over hither, into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against *my justice*, besides the attempt, made upon my estate; resolves past in the Assemblies, for turning my *quit-rents*, never sold by me, to the support of government; my lands entered upon, without any regular method; my manors invaded, (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them) and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts

1710. against me here; a right to my overplus land, unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts, in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting, for the support of that government, both here and there; and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add, the violence, that has been particularly shewn to my Secretary; of which (though I shall, by no means, protect him in any thing, he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions) I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all these charges, I have seen, or heard of, against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me, as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and, to think that any man should be the more exposed there, on my account, and, instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration! In short, when I reflect on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time, think of the hardships I, and my suffering family, have been reduced to, in no small measure, owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from, that province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness, that too many of them are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love and unity, which I, at first, hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition; and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation, on which your happiness might be built.

“ Friends, the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of *Europe* look on that country

country, as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves, in vain, the same blessings, they conceive you may enjoy: but, to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive, even, the sense or meaning. Where are the *distresses*, *grievances*, and *oppressions*, that the papers, sent from thence, so often say, you languish under! while others have cause to believe, you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any, in the Queen's dominions? 1710.

“ Is it such a *grievous oppression*, that the *courts* are established by my power, founded on the king's charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for, I believe, the late Assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them) and I am freely content you should have any law, that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your *oppression* that the *officers fees* are not settled by an act of Assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion, than myself: do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and, I hope, my Lieutenant's concurrence and approbation. Is it such an *oppression*, that licences for public houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to *oppression*, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable; but that business, I find, is adjusted. Could I know any *real oppression*, you lie under, that is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper

1710.  per measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such) I would be as ready, on my part, to remove them, as you to desire it; but according to the best judgment, I can make of the complaints, I have seen (and you once thought I had a pretty good one) I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say, that I fear, the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favoured and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there to the great mercies of God, hitherto shewn them, be, at length, provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and, by changing the blessings, that so little care has been taken, by the public, to deserve, into calamities, and reduce those, that have been so clamorous, and causelessly discontented, to a true, but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this, with a design to include all; I doubt not, many of you have been burdened at, and can, by no means, join in the measures that have been taken; but while such things appear under the name of an Assembly, that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not unsensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

“ I have already been tedious, and shall now, therefore, briefly say, that the opposition, I have met with from thence must, at length, force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances, in relation to that province. In the mean time, I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have wrote, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me, that has not of late been paid; pray, consider of it fully, and think soberly, what you have to desire of me, on the one hand, and ought to perform to me, on the other; for, from
the

the next Assembly, I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But, if a plurality, after this, shall think they owe me none, or no more, than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared, and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear, to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end; our relation, in the truth, having but the same true interest.

“ I am, with great truth, and most sincere regard, your real Friend, as well as just Proprietor and Governor,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

What reply was made to this letter does not appear; but notwithstanding what might have been thought deficient, or amiss, on the Proprietary's side, the serious nature of it could not but affect the considerate part of the Assembly with more regard for the father of their country, now, in his declining age, and for his difficult situation, occasioned originally and principally on account of it, or, for the real advantage of the colony, than they had, for some time past, exhibited; seeing it plainly hinted to what their proceedings necessarily tended, and the means, though not expressed, which he should soon be obliged to use, without an immediate alteration of the Assembly's conduct, relative to him and his interest. The consequence thus far appears, that, at the next annual election of the Members of Assembly, in October, 1710, there was not one of those Members returned, who served in the preceding year, but an entire new
An entire
new Assembly
newly elected.

1710. new House, of which *Richard Hill* was chosen Speaker.*

Part of the
Governor's
speech to
the new
Assembly.

The Governor, in his speech to the House, on the 16th of the month, told them, "That he did not doubt it was obvious to every one's understanding, why he could not agree with the last Assembly; but, as he took them to have different sentiments, they might promise themselves, that his ready assent to all bills, drawn up for the public good, would not be wanting; and that, as he had often expressed his resolution of settling among them, he could have no aims, contrary to the interest of the people: that thus a confidence might be established in each other, he hoped, they would cheerfully proceed with their bills, and make such provision for the support of the government as consisted with the character, that the province justly bore, in all her Majesty's dominions. He concluded with recommending them to dispatch, and cautioning them to avoid the expense of a long sitting; a practice, that some former Assemblies, by giving way to, had left a debt upon the country, that, perhaps, they would not very easily discharge."

Harmony
between the
Governor
and this As-
sembly, &c.

The harmony, which subsisted between the Governor and this Assembly was productive of much more agreeable and satisfactory proceedings, and salutary effects, in the public transactions of the government,

* The names of the Members of this Assembly, elected on the 1st of October, 1710, were:

For Philadelphia county.

Edward Farmar,
William Trent,
Edward Jones,
Thomas Masters,
Thomas Jones,
Samuel Cart,
Jonathan Dickinson,
David Giffing.

Chester county.

Nicholas Pile,
Joseph Baker,
William Lewis,
John Wood,
Nathaniel Newlin,
Ephraim Jackson,
Caleb Pusey,
Isaac Taylor.

Bucks county.

Abel Janny,
John Clark,
Stoffeld Vansand,
John Hough,
Thomas Stevenson,
Samuel Baker,
Jeremiah Langhorn,
William Biles,

City of Philadelphia.

Richard Hill, Isaac Norris.

government, than had been, for some years before; and many laws were mutually agreed on, and passed during the winter. 1710.

In the summer of the year 1711, Governor *Gookin*, having received an express from *England*, respecting the expedition against *Canada*, convened the Assembly, and acquainted them therewith, and the preparations of the northern colonies, for that end. 1711. Expedition to Canada, &c.

He recommended them to exert themselves, suitably on the occasion, not to be behind their northern neighbours, in answering the Queen's expectation, and to enable him to raise and support the quota of men, assigned this province, or else, that they would make an equivalent; and he laid before the House certain papers, with the Queen's instructions to him, relative to the affair; which last were as follows:

“ *Anne R.*

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. The Queen's letter of instructions to the Governor.
Whereas, we have sent our instructions to our Governors of *New York* and *New Jersey*, and of the *Massachusetts Bay* and *New Hampshire*, relating to an expedition, we design to make against the common enemy, the *French*, inhabiting *North America*. And whereas, We have directed our said Governors, and *Francis Nicholson*, Esquire, to communicate to you such part of our said instructions, as relates to the province, under your command. Our will and pleasure is, that you do in all things, conform yourself to the said instructions. And we do hereby command you to be aiding and assisting in carrying on the said expedition: and, in order thereunto, that you do meet our said Governors, and the said *Francis Nicholson*, at such place, and at such time, as they shall, for that purpose, signify unto you; and that you put in

1711. in execution such things, as shall then be resolved to be acted and done, on your part; in doing of which, we do expect you to use the utmost vigour and diligence; and for so doing this shall be your warrant: So we bid you farewell.

“ Given at our court, at *St. James's* the one and thirtieth day of February, 1710-11, in the ninth year of our reign.

“ By her Majesty's command,

“ H. ST. JOHN.”

“ To our trusty and well-beloved, the Governor, or Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief, for the time being, of our province of *Pennsylvania*, in America.”

The Indians a constant expense to Pennsylvania, &c.

The congress of Governors, or council of war, met accordingly at *New London*, in *Connecticut*, where the several quotas, or proportions, expected from each colony, were fixed; but by reason of the short space of time, and great distance, Governor *Gookin* could not attend it, nor properly represent the state and ability of the province; and the Assembly of *Pennsylvania* thought the colony over-rated: for this province particularly was constantly at a considerable expense, for the preservation of the friendship of the Indians, in such manner, as was very important and interesting to all the neighbouring governments, and the general utility; they nevertheless voted *two thousand pounds*, to be raised upon the inhabitants of the province, for the Queen's use, by a tax of five pence half penny per pound, on estates, and twenty shillings per head, on single freemen: and a bill for that purpose was passed by the Governor.

In

In the Assembly, elected October, 1711, there 1711.
 was a considerable change of Members; and *David Lloyd*'s name again appears among them; but *Richard Hill* was chosen Speaker.

The Governor, in a speech to the House, this winter, expressed, That the Proprietary, in his letters to him, had signified his desire to serve the people of this province, and left it to themselves, to think on the means, that might best conduce to their own quiet and interest: at the same time, offering his ready concurrence to any thing of that nature, which they should propose, consistent with the honour and interest of the crown, of the Proprietary, and of the public welfare; and recommending to their consideration, that, as to himself, he had been above three years engaged in the affairs of the province, and almost so long in it; that what he had received from the public, appeared by the acts of the last Assembly; which was far short of what the Proprietary gave him to expect from the people.

The Proprietor desires to serve the people of the province, &c.

The House, in answer, thankfully acknowledged the Proprietary's kind regard, and desires to serve them, with the Governor's offered and ready concurrence to what should contribute to that end. They promised to take care of the Governor's support; and accordingly, afterwards agreed on such provision for the same, as was to mutual satisfaction.

The year 1712 was remarkable for two things, 1712.
 respecting *Pennsylvania*; the first was, an agreement for the sale of the government of it, and the territories, to *Queen Anne*, by the Proprietary; the most probable inducements for which have already, in part, been mentioned: for though a temporary alteration was made the last year in the Assembly's conduct, respecting him, yet it appears, in this manner, he thought it most prudent to ex-

The Proprietor disposes of the government to the Queen;

1712.

And is seiz-
ed with an
apoplexy,
&c.

tricate himself from the debt and difficulties, in which the province had too much involved him. The second was, a failure of those mental faculties, in the Proprietary, which, during most of his life, had shone so bright, and been so beneficent to many people, both in *Europe* and *America*, by means of a distemper, supposed to be an apoplexy; which deprived him, in part, of his former abilities, and rendered him incapable of public business, and consequently disabled him from executing a surrender of the government, according to agreement.

Purport of
the Govern-
or's speech
to the As-
sembly.

Governor *Gookin*, in his speech to the Assembly, on the 15th of October, this year, of which *Isaac Norris* was Speaker, thus hinted the former of these affairs, expressing, That the Proprietary, in a letter to a Member of the Council, had signified his intentions of surrendering the government, in a few months: in consequence of which he had reason to believe, he should not be continued Governor under the crown; he declared his readiness to serve them, during the short time he should probably be in the administration; and he requested them to take effectual measures, to have ready, when called for, the sum granted by the late Assembly; that the debts incurred, on account of the *Indian treaties*, be immediately discharged, and that the *Indians*, then in town, be well satisfied; who had proposed, in behalf of the *Five Nations*, to establish a free and open trade between them, in *Pennsylvania*, for the future. He declared, that, as to himself, he had but a melancholy prospect; that, after all he could hope for, and his administration over, he should find himself a great loser, by coming to *Pennsylvania*; which, as they probably would be the last Assembly, that he should meet, he recommended to their serious consideration, especially the expense of his return.

The

The House, in answer, acquainted the Governor, That, it being inconvenient, at that season, for them to attend in Assembly, they intended to adjourn, and appoint a committee, to inspect the public accounts of the province, in the mean time, and to prepare matters for the better dispatch of business, at their next meeting; and recommending the care of the *Indians* to the Governor and Council, according to the law, in such cases, after the Governor had signified his approbation of their proposed adjournment, the House accordingly adjourned.

1712.

Purport of
the Assembly's answer.

They adjourn.

In October, 1713, *Joseph Growdon* was Speaker of the Assembly; and on the 15th of the month, the Governor, in a speech, informed them, That the government was not yet surrendered, and probably would not very shortly; that, being still invested with the proprietary powers, he was ready to use them for the welfare of the people, in all their reasonable expectations; and that, he took this opportunity to give the country his thanks for the

1713.

Part of the
Governor's
speech.

Note. In the printed votes of Assembly, this year, appears the following account of the wine and rum, imported into the province, taken from the naval officer, and laid before the House, on the 6th of the 12th mo. (Feb.) 1712-13; which may give some idea of this branch of trade in the province, at that time, *viz.*

*Wine imported since the 25th of
March, 1711.*

Pipes	441	} from the place of growth.
Hhds.	13	
Qr Casks	23	

Pipes	48	} Elsewhere.
Hhds.	2	
Qr. Casks	2	

Rum imported, ut antea.

Hhds.	574
Tierces	360
Barrels	183
Kilderkin	1
Gallons	200
Pipe	1
Casks	19
Puncheons	2
Groce Bottles	4

Note. In the year 1712, John Lowdon, John Miller, Michael Lightfoot, James Starr, Thomas Garnet, and other *Friends* or *Quakers*, settled in *New Garden*, in *Chester county*. The first of these, *John Lowdon*, died at *Abington*, *Philadelphia county*, in 1714. He came from *Ireland*, about the year 1711, was an eminent preacher among the *Quakers*, travelled much in that service, and was much esteemed and beloved.

1714. the care taken for his support, in the administration, by the last Assembly, and hoped its continuance.

David
Lloyd a-
gain Speak-
er of the
Assembly,
&c.

In October 1714, *David Lloyd* was again chosen Speaker of the Assembly; and notwithstanding, in the beginning of their year, they had several sessions, yet nothing material was concluded between them and the Governor: they, therefore, on the 26th of the first month, adjourned themselves to the latter part of September, 1715; but before that time, early in the spring, the Governor summoned them, by the following writ:

The Go-
vernor's
writ for
summoning
the Assem-
bly.

“ *CHARLES GOOKIN, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.*

“ To the Sheriff, &c.

“ *Pennsylvania, ff.*

“ WHEREAS the Assembly of this province, in the month of March last, divers matters of the greatest weight and importance before them, which required to be dispatched, for the public good and safety, notwithstanding thought fit, without my consent or approbation, to adjourn themselves to the latter end of their yearly sessions; by which means,

Notes.

Names of the Members of Council present, May 16th, 1712.

Edward Shippen,
Joseph Growdon,
Samuel Carpenter,
Thomas Story,
James Logan,

Richard Hill,
Isaac Norris,
Samuel Preston,
Jonathan Dickinson,
Robert Ashton.

In the year 1713, died Samuel Carpenter, of *Philadelphia*, the Treasurer of the province; and was succeeded in his office by Samuel Preston, appointed by the Assembly.

Samuel Carpenter arrived very early in the province, and was one of the most considerable traders and settlers in *Pennsylvania*; where he held, for many years, some of the greatest offices in the government; and through a great variety of business he preserved the love and esteem of a large and extensive acquaintance. His great abilities, activity and benevolent disposition of mind, in divers capacities, but more particularly among his friends, the *Quakers*, are said to have rendered and distinguished him as a very useful and valuable member, not only of that religious society, but also of the community in general.

means, the expectations of all good people, who depended on a suitable provision to be then forthwith made, to answer the several exigencies of the government, became entirely disappointed. The great inconveniencies of which must still continue unremedied until another Assembly be chosen, unless they are called together before the time of their said adjournment. These, therefore, are (by and with the advice of the Council) to require and command you, that you forthwith summon all the representatives, chosen in your county, for the said Assembly, that they meet me, at *Philadelphia*, the second day of May next, to proceed to the dispatch of the said affairs, and such other matters as I may have occasion to lay before them; and without delay make return of this writ into the Secretary's office. 1714.

“ Given under my hand and lesser seal of the said province, at *Philadelphia*, the sixteenth day of April, Anno Domini 1715.”

The Assembly met, in pursuance of this writ, which appears to throw some reflection on the manner of their adjournment. Ill humour and altercation, which, during the latter part of the preceding year, had been gaining ground between the Governor and the Assembly, appeared now again too much to prevail between the different branches of the Legislature. Ill humour between the Governor and the House.

The Governor addressed the House with a reprehensory speech, blaming their adjournment to near the end of their year, without his consent, or knowledge; their leaving the great exigencies of government unprovided for; their being the cause of so long obstruction of the administration of justice, with its consequences, by their refusing to accommodate the bills, prepared for that purpose, so that it might be in his power to pass the same; which The Governor blames the House, &c.

1714. which might easily have been done; and their neglect of making provision, for his support, so immediately necessary, and justly due to him, &c.

The Assembly throw the blame on the Governor, &c.

But they accommodate matters, &c.

The Assembly, in their turn, throw the blame upon the Governor, for his refusing to pass the bills, as they had prepared them, to answer the exigencies of the province, and the support of the administration. They, notwithstanding, afterwards so far agreed, that the Governor passed a considerable number of laws before the end of the month.

Note. In the year 1714, Francis Swain, John Smith, Joseph Pennock, William Pusey, and other *Friends* or *Quakers*, settled at *London Grove*, in Chester County.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXI.

The Assembly's address to the Governor respecting tumults, &c. in Philadelphia, with his answer.—An Indian treaty held in Philadelphia, in 1715.—The Governor intends to go home.—The Assembly's address to King George the First.—The Governor disagrees with both the Council and Assembly.—Names of the Members of Assembly and some of the Council.—The Assembly's representation to Governor Gookin, containing a variety of things, in 1716.

IN the summer of this year, (1715) there was ^{1715.} complaint made in the House, of frequent and great tumults, raised in *Philadelphia*, under the pretence of supporting and abetting of one *Francis Philips*, who had been indicted for high crimes and misdemeanors; upon which the Assembly presented to the Governor the following address, viz. ^{Complaint of tumults, &c.}

“ *To CHARLES GOOKIN, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.* ^{The Assembly's address to the Governor thereupon.}

“ The address of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in General Assembly met, the 10th day of June, 1715.

“ *May it please the Governor,*

“ We were in hopes, that the opening of the courts of justice might have been a means to put a stop to those tumults, which frequently happened in this city, since the beginning of our session, so

1715. so that our meeting now would have been to crown our labours with a general satisfaction.

“ But, to our great disappointment, we understand, by credible information, that some of those who occasioned those tumults, in order to annoy their opposite party, are now levelling their malignity against the Magistrates of this city and county, and endeavouring to prevail with the Governor to be of opinion, that here is no power to bring to trial a certain clergyman, who is charged by indictment, at the King’s suit, for committing *fornication*, against the King’s peace, and the law of this province, &c.

“ We

Note. The following *Indian treaty*, may shew the manner of treating with these people about this time; omitting the marks or figures of the different belts, which were in the margin of the original.

“ At a Council at *Philadelphia*, 14th June, 1715.

“ Present, the honourable *Charles Gookin*, Lieutenant Governor,

“ Joseph Growdon,
Griffith Owen,
James Logan,

Richard Hill,
Isaac Norris,
Robert Ashton.

“ The chiefs of the *Delaware* and *Schuylkill* Indians, in a visit to the Governor, &c met in the court house, at *Philadelphia*; *Sassoonan* being their head, and *Opeffab*, the late *Sbarwanese* king, with his companions attending him; and then opening the *Calumet*, with great ceremony of their rattles and songs, it was offered by *Sassoonan*, the king, to the Governor and Council, and to all others of the *English* there met; and afterwards it was also offered by him to all his *Indians*; and then with the same ceremony was put up again.

“ Then *Sassoonan* rose, and spoke to the Governor, and said, “ That the *Calumet*, the bond of peace, which they had carried to all the nations round, they had now brought hither; that it was a sure bond and seal of peace amongst them, and between them and us; and they desired, by holding up their hands, that the *God of heaven* might be witness to it, and that there might be a firm peace between them and us for ever.”

“ To which the Governor answered;

“ That he was very glad to see them retain so strong a sense of that firm peace, which was settled between *William Penn*, the Founder and Chief Governor of this country, at his first coming into it, in behalf of himself, and all his people, with them and all theirs; that they were sensible we had always preserved it unviolated, on our side; and were glad we had reason to say, they had done the same, on theirs; that we desired nothing more, than that the great *God*, who made heaven and earth, and all living creatures, and who knew the thoughts, and saw all the actions of men, to whom they applied, should be witness of what

now

1715.

“ We desire the Governor to consider, that fornication, and such like offences, which, in other places, may be of ecclesiastical connufance, are, by the laws of this province, made triable in the quarter fessions; and as our laws are, by the royal charter, to be inviolably observed; so the Governor and Magistrates are bound in duty to cause the same to be put in execution: therefore we are of opinion, that whoever doth, or shall, assert, or endeavour to incense, or persuade, the Governor, or any other, that the court of quarter fessions, as by law established, hath no cognizance of the said offences, are, and shall be, deemed enemies to the Governor, and government, of this province.

VOL. II.

[9]

“ And

now passed between us; and, that this renewal of the same bond of peace might be recorded between them and us, for ever.

“ With which speech they expressed themselves greatly satisfied.

“ *Saffoonan* added, that hearing of some murmurs among some of themselves, to prevent any misunderstanding, they came to renew the former bond of friendship:—That *William Penn* had, at his first coming, made a clear and open road, all the way to the *Indians*; [by this meaning a friendly communication] that they desired the same might be kept open; and that all obstructions should be removed; of which, on their side, they will take care.

“ He then presented a belt of *Wampum*, and added to the same effect:

“ That they desired the peace, which had been made, should be so firm, that they and we should join hand in hand so firmly, that nothing, even the *greatest tree*, should be able to divide them asunder.

“ After this, they, seeming to wait for an answer, were desired to proceed, and to deliver what they now had further to say; and that answers and returns, for binding the friendship, on our side, would be made to them altogether.

“ *Saffoonan* accordingly proceeded and said, That their late king *Skalitiabi* desired of them that they would take care to keep a perfect with the *English*, and that they should be joined as one; that the *Indians* should be half *English*, and the *English* make themselves as half *Indians*, that they might the better be as the same.

“ He further added, laying down a second belt, That, as the fathers have been in peace, so they desired that their children and our children still, as they should be born, and come into the world hereafter, might be brought up in the same union; and that it should be continued between their and our posterity, from generation to generation for ever.

“ He

1715.

“ And now, may it please the Governor, to take speedy care, by such ways and means, as may be effectual, to discourage and suppress the said tumults, and disperse all tumultuous gatherings of people, in this city; and more especially those, who shall endeavour to weaken the hands of the Magistrates, in the discharge of their duty, or shall speak, or act, in derogation to their authority, or shall, in any wise, attempt to screen, or rescue the said malefactor from the course of justice.

“ As

“ He added, That, in the last council, which they held with us, they spoke concerning the sun; by whose influence they had lived in warmth and plenty, from the beginning; that they now desired the same happiness might be continued to them with us, in the firmest peace; and that it might last as long as the sun should endure: that when any clouds interpose between them and the sun, it brings coolness, and is unpleasant; the same will be, if any cloud should arise between them and us; and, therefore, they desire, if any thing of that kind appear, it may be dissipated, without delay.

“ He laid down a third belt, and continued in the same strain, desiring as before, that they might still enjoy the warmth of the sun, and our friendship together; that then they should want no necessaries of life, but enjoying all the comforts of it, with their wives, and might repose themselves with them in peace and safety, without any disturbance.

“ This he delivered in behalf of all our *Indians*, on this side *Susquebanna*, who are all concerned with him in this treaty; and this was all he had to say on this subject.

“ He then began again, and laying down a bundle of deer skins, said, That now they would discourse of matters of trade between them and us; that hitherto it had been like a house with two doors, one for them, the other for the *English*; but the goods were placed in the dark; so that they were wholly ignorant how they had been dealt with, or how they should trade.

“ He repeated the same, laying down a second bundle of skins, and desired they might be informed of the terms, they might trade upon, that if occasion were, they might, at any time, send their wives, and be out of danger of being cheated.

“ He added a third bundle of deer skins, complaining how hard it was upon them; for that they knew not what they were to expect for their goods, and that they could scarce purchase ours.

“ Laying down a fourth bundle, being skins and furs, he desired, that we might be as people, eating all of the same dish, and so they might be dealt with, as if they were our own people.

“ Presenting a fifth bundle, he said, that formerly they exactly knew the prices both of our goods and theirs; but now they varied so much, there was no understanding them.

“ With,

“ As we have been, and hope, shall be, willing to support the government, so we are earnestly concerned, that the King’s subjects may be protected under thy administration; and for that end we do insist that thou wilt be pleased to cause the laws to be duly put in execution; and to countenance, and not discourage, the Magistrates and officers, in the discharge of their duties; that so the people may be reduced to their former obedience, and application for redress elsewhere prevented. 1715.

“ We also desire that persons be commissioned, and courts called, for speedy trial of those criminal causes now depending.”

To this the Governor, by a message, returned the following answer :

“ Gentlemen,

“ With a sixth bundle, he said, That through this uncertainty, he wore himself such ragged breeches, that he was ashamed to shew them, and desired this inconveniency might be remedied.

“ Offering a seventh, he complained that they were often imposed on by the weight of our money, when they came to sell, that we certainly knew the value of theirs; but they could not understand ours; and, therefore, desired that this great inconveniency might also be remedied.

“ He offered an eighth, informing, that *Opeffab* (formerly king of the *Shawanese*, but now abdicated) lived at a great distance, and entertained them with victuals and provisions, when they went that way; and therefore they desired, that when he should come among us, he might be received as one of themselves, with the same openness, that he received from them.

“ Having ended their discourse, they were told, that to-morrow they should receive answers to all they had said; and were, for the present, dismissed.

“ Orders were given to the Mayor of *Philadelphia*, *Isaac Norris*, and the Secretary, to take an account of the presents, now made, and their value; and that goods should be provided, to be ready in the morning; and the said presents were found to consist of,

45 Raw Fall Deer skins,	wt. 138 lb.	at 9d.	£. 5 3 6
8 Summer ditto,	- 16	at 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	13
53 Dressed	- 57	at 2s 6	7 2 6
84 Whole Foxes,	-	at 18d.	6 6
12 Racoons,	-	at 12d.	12
3 Ordinary Fishers,	-	at 3s.	9
			£. 21 11

“ At

1715.

The Governor's answer.

“ Gentlemen,

“ The tumults, that have hitherto happened, I have immediately endeavoured to quell; and I hope with good effect; the courts are now opened; the administration of justice is restored; and if any should be so audacious as to oppose the Magistrates, they should not want my countenance and assistance to suppress the attempt: I am sorry it should be furnished to the Assembly by any, that those who shew a malignity to the magistracy could have grounds of hope to prevail with me to favour them; on the contrary, they shall find (if there be any such) that I shall exert all the authority with which I am invested, to support the proprietary powers of government, and the Magistrates, in the execution of the laws, and full discharge of their duty.

“ The commissions, that are not yet issued, will be forthwith expedited.”

Joseph

“ At a Council held in *Philadelphia*, 15th June, 1715.

“ Present, the honourable *Charles Gookin*, Esq. Lieutenant Governor,

“ Griffith Owen,
James Logan,
Richard Hill,

Isaac Norris,
Robert Ashton.

“ Presents having been prepared, according to order, and the *Indians* being met and seated, the Governor ordered the interpreter to inform them, “ That their visit, on so friendly a design, as still further to strengthen the bond of Peace between us, was very acceptable; that we doubted not but they would think themselves, and their children from generation to generation, obliged to keep inviolable those firm treaties of peace, which had been made, and which we had kept, and were resolved ever to keep firm, on our side; and hope none of them have any cause to murmur; if they knew of any, they are desired to mention it freely.

“ That the great *Queen of England*, who had, for so many years, reigned with great success, was now dead, and was succeeded by a King, who has been a great General, in the wars, is a wise King, and has more dominions, than any King of *Great Britain* ever had before him; that under him, as well they (the *Indians*) as we, his other subjects, may live in the same peace, that we have enjoyed any time before; that our Proprietary, their Friend, *William Penn*, is still living, though but weak in health.

“ That, as to the complaints, they made concerning trade, the Governor is sorry he cannot give them a more entire satisfaction in it, and
remove

Joseph Growdon was chosen Speaker of the Assembly, elected in October, 1715. At the first meeting of this Assembly, in the same month, the Governor in his speech, acquainted them with his intention of going home, in the spring; on which account he had writ to the Proprietary for his leave, and to some other persons of note, to procure

1715.

The Governor intends to go home, &c.

remove every hardship, which they lie under; but that all trade is uncertain; our own wheat the last year, yielded twice the price, it does this; all our goods, which they buy, are brought from *England*, whither we also send theirs; that sometimes a habit, which is in fashion one year, is laid aside the next; and accordingly the skins, of which they are made, will be of a higher or lower value. It is the same with all our other merchandize, as with those which they buy; their only security and safety will be, to trade with the honestest men, and those of the best reputation, and prefer those who will give the most; that this is our rule, in all our business, and they must do the same.

“ That *Opeffab* has long been under a league of friendship with us; and though he has now left those *Indians*, among whom he formerly lived, yet we shall shew him the same friendship as ever; and shall depend upon the same from him; and that, upon this further recommendation from them, he will think himself as one of them, and under the same bond with them; and, therefore, we desire, that, as he lives at a great distance, and may see many foreign *Indians*, he will, from time to time, inform us, if he hears of any thing, which may concern us; and this we desire, and shall expect and depend on from him, and all his friends there; as also that, if they know any thing now of any late motions to or from the southward, they would acquaint us,

“ Concerning which, being particularly asked, *Opeffab* affirmed, he knew nothing.

“ The Governor further ordered, they should be told, That all the sober *English* very much lamented that they could not guard themselves better against liquor; that they should send their young men abroad to hunt, and, at their return, should sell their goods for such things as would be of real service to them, and not throw it all away for that destructive liquor *rum*; which robbed them, not only of their goods, but of their lives also.

“ All which being delivered together with the presents, which were provided, *Pokehais*, in the name of the rest, expressed their satisfaction and thanks, for the favours now shewed them.”

The presents were	16 Stroud matchcoats at 19s	£. 15	4
	10 Duffil ditto 10s6	5	5
	6 Blankets, 13s4	4	
	6 Shirts, 8s6	2	11
	50 lb. Powder,	4	10
	100 lb. Lead and 100 at 3d. each	2	10
	12 doz. Pipes,		4 6
		£. 32	4 6

1715. cure him the King's licence of absence for twelve months; this notice he gave them, that they might dispatch such necessary business, while he was with them, as could not be done without a Governor present.

1716. Queen *Anne* having deceased the last year, this Assembly drew up, and sent to *England*, the following address to King *George*, on his accession to the throne, *viz.*

The Assembly's address to King George.

“ To *GEORGE*, King of *Great Britain*, &c.

“ The humble *address* of the *representatives* of the freemen of the province of *Pennsylvania*, in Assembly met, the first of the month called May, 1716.

“ *Gracious Sovereign*,

“ Though by divers concurring causes, and particularly the great indisposition of our Proprietary and Governor in chief of this province,* we have been hitherto, to our great trouble, prevented the opportunity of expressing to the *King* our sincere joy, for his happy and peaceable accession to the throne of his ancestors, and thereby securing to all his protestant subjects the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights; yet none could be more sensible of the great blessing, nor express a warmer zeal for his service, in their earliest approaches, than, at all times since, has filled our thankful breasts; and although we had not the desired advantage of expressing these our sentiments, yet we became the easier under that disappointment, by accounting the majority of this province included in that general application, made by their friends at *London*, in behalf of the whole

* The Proprietary, as before observed, had, in the year 1712, been so affected, as to his health, (supposed to be by an apoplexy) that, in a great measure, from that time forward, he became more and more incapable of public business, till his death, in 1718.

whole community, wherein our thoughts, with 1716.
their own, were most truly represented.

“ Such has been the King’s goodness, not only expressed in his first generous royal declaration, and repeatedly since, from the throne, but more powerfully exerted through a most wise and steady administration, in pursuing every measure, that might contribute to the safety and happiness of his people; in making the known laws the invariable rule of his government; in restoring the honour of the *British nation* abroad; and in procuring for his subjects such advantages, in commerce, as could scarce be hoped for, after they had been so unhappily given away, that, even, the remotest parts of the King’s great dominions feel the benign influences of his paternal affection to the whole, and are laid under doubled obligations to make the utmost returns of gratitude, as well as obedience, for their happiness, under his auspicious reign.

“ It is, therefore, the more surprising, that there should be any of the *British* race, within that *Island*, so lost to all sense of their own interest, as well as their engaged duty to a Prince of the most conspicuous and most consummate virtues, as to express the least uneasy murmurs, much less to rise in an open and unnatural rebellion; for the suppression of which, by the great wisdom and vigilance of the *King*, and his ministry, and faithfulness of his servants, we do, with hearts full of the sincerest gratitude and joy, return our most humble acknowledgments to the Fountain of infinite goodness and mercy, that has so eminently appeared in the support of the royal throne, established on the lasting foundation of justice, and to the confusion of all the detestable machinations, vainly formed against it.

“ As

1716.

“ As for us, our known principles are so essentially interwoven with the protestant interest of *Great Britain*, and our greatest concerns do so entirely depend on the preservation of thy person, and royal issue, long to reign over us, that we cannot possibly separate our own welfare from the indispensable duty of shewing ourselves with the most hearty affection, thy loyal and most obedient subjects.

“ That confusion and disappointment may attend all the wicked devices of thy enemies; that the minds of thy people may be composed, and universally inspired with the same spirit of love and obedience, as that, wherewith we now approach thy throne; and that the watchful providence of Almighty God may always attend the *King*, and confirm the wisdom and justice of his rightful government over us, is the most sincere and unfeigned desire of the King's humble and dutiful subjects.

“ Signed by order of the House,

“ JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker*.”

The Governor disagrees with both the Assembly and Council.

In October following, *Richard Hill* was chosen Speaker of the new Assembly; during whose sessions not much of public importance, in a legislative capacity, for the benefit of the province, seems to have been transacted:—for the Governor, about this time, appears to have differed, in sentiment, not only with the representatives of the people, in his refusing to qualify *Quakers* for Magistrates, and in other important affairs, but he also disagreed with the Council.*

He

* The names of the Members of this Assembly were,

<i>For Philadelphia county.</i>	<i>Chester county.</i>	<i>Bucks county.</i>
Richard Hill, <i>Speaker</i> ,	David Lloyd,	Jeremiah Langhorne,
Isaac Norris,	John Blunston, jun.	Thomas Stevenson,
William Trent,	Henry Hayes,	John Sotcher,
Jonathan Dickinson,	Joseph Pennock,	Joseph Bond,

For

He had repeatedly charged the present *Speaker* 1716. of the Assembly, who was then also Mayor of the city of *Philadelphia*, and *James Logan*, the Secretary of the province, men in high office and trust, with disaffection to the *King*; of which they complained to the Assembly; but he refused to give either them or the House any satisfaction, or proofs, for what he had asserted.

The Assembly, therefore, declared it their opinion, that the said charge was without any ground, or reason to support it, and seemed to be intended to render these persons obnoxious to the King and government.

But these, and some other matters of complaint, more fully appear in the following *representation* which was presented to the Governor, in the ninth month this year; and a duplicate of it sent to *Great Britain*, viz.

“ To

VOL. II.

[10]

For Philadelphia county.

Thomas Masters,
Joseph Redman,
Clement Plumstead,
William Fishbourn.

Chester county.

David Harry,
John Maris,
John Worrell,
Henry Oburn.

Bucks county.

Joseph Kirkbride,
Thomas Stackhouse,
John Swift,
James Carter.

City of Philadelphia.

George Roach, Benjamin Vining.

Among the names of the Members of Council, about this time, appear to be,

James Logan, who was also Secretary,
Samuel Preston, likewise Treasurer,
Robert Ashton, also Prothonotary of the common pleas
at Philadelphia,

Joseph Growdon,
Caleb Pusey,
Griffith Owen.

The Judges of the Supreme court were,
William Trent, Jonathan Dickinson, and George Roach.

1716. “ *To CHARLES GOOKIN, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.*

The Assembly's representation to Governor Gookin.

“ A representation of the freemen of the said province, in General Assembly met, the third of the ninth month, 1716.

“ *May it please the Governor,*

“ When our Proprietary and Governor in Chief, first obtained a grant of this province from the crown, and a numerous colony of industrious people settled therein, we are well assured it was his inclination, as well as visible interest, to render them as safe as possible, under his administration.

“ And, as his religious persuasion, as a dissenter from the established *Church of England*, was well known, and therefore those of the same profession made a great part of the first adventurers with him, it cannot be doubted but that he would ever think himself obliged to provide that they should enjoy, in *Pennsylvania*, at least, equal ease and privileges with any other *English* subjects of the same rank, in any of the King's dominions.

“ Accordingly when necessitated to be absent from us, as he has, for the most part been, he took care, from time to time, to appoint such persons, to be his deputies, in the government, in whose moderation and tenderness towards his friends, as well as loyalty to the crown, and justice to all its subjects, he believed he might confide.

“ When the Governor, therefore, first brought over the Proprietary's commission of deputation, for the government, we could not doubt but that, being the Proprietary's choice, and acting solely by powers, derived from him, he would steadily pursue the measures, that had generally been taken, from our first settlement, and endeavour to make all the subjects of the crown, under the Proprietary's government, equally secure and easy.

“ On

1716.

“ On this expectation, confirmed by the Proprietary’s letters of recommendation, the Assemblies, not doubting the Governor’s good intentions towards them, freely discharged what was incumbent on them, and it is hoped, in no small measure, to the Governor’s satisfaction.

“ Nor while the Proprietary’s health, and former abilities happily continued, had the inhabitants much reason to complain, but that the Governor made the Proprietary’s directions, from home, as far as they could be obtained, and the advice of those, the Proprietary had instructed here, the rule (in great measure) of his conduct, in what related to the Proprietary’s interest, or government, and to the privileges of the people.

“ But whether it be now owing to the discontinuance of those orders and directions, which has followed on the late great and melancholy change, in the Proprietary’s health, or to some unhappy advice from others, or to any new formed views, we know not; but this House of Representatives, soon after their first meeting, finding the Governor had, at length, so far lost sight of the obligations he lay under to his principal and constituent, as to enter on measures inconsistent with his interest, and our constitution, and the liberties of the people, we judged it our indispensable duty to apply to the Governor for redress; who declaring his opinion to be such as would not admit of any, we desired, with due submission, that he would be pleased to suffer the reasons of that opinion to be argued before him; but finding, to our trouble, that all our endeavours were in vain, we think ourselves obliged, in the discharge of the trust reposed in us, fully to represent the fatal consequences, as well as the unreasonableness, of those measures, to the end that a proper relief may be obtained; without which the greater part
of

1716. of the inhabitants of this province must be rendered miserable; which we humbly offer, as follows:

“ Those, who accompanied the Proprietary in the settlement of this colony, being chiefly (as has already been observed) of those called *Quakers*, who, lying under some hardships, in their native country, because, for conscience-sake, they could not comply with the laws there, for taking oaths, expected that, by virtue of the powers of legislation, granted by the crown, to the Proprietary and them, they might, after the hazard and toil of their removal hither, be capable of enjoying the privileges of English subjects, without violation of their religious principles.

“ Accordingly the Proprietary and Assemblies provided laws, by which those people might be enabled to hold any offices (there being but few others at that time, to fill them) or to give evidence in any case whatsoever.

“ Some disputes afterwards arising on this subject, the late Queen, by her order, in Council, dated the 21st of January, 1702, was pleased to extend to this province, the *affirmation* allowed to the *Quakers*, in *England*, by the seventh and eighth of *William* the Third, not only for the purposes intended by that in *England*, but also for the qualification of Magistrates and officers; and the same being from thence applied to other cases, this order, on the repeal of our own acts, in a great measure, supplied what was necessary, in this point, for the administration of justice.

“ But the act of parliament itself being near its expiration, it was found necessary, as well on that, as some other considerations, to establish, by an act of the province, the qualifications of officers, and the manner of giving evidence, by affirmation; and the Governor (upon the Assembly's

bly's performing the conditions proposed them) 1716.
passed acts for that, as well as other purposes, to
answer the exigencies of the government.

“ That the said affirmation-acts should have full force, according to the intention of them, of such importance to the ease and security of the whole province, that it could scarcely be supposed, any person amongst us, who professed, even, the most slender regard for the people's welfare, would attempt to deprive them of the advantages thereof.

“ It is, therefore, the more surprising, that the Governor himself (from whose station, and the trust reposed in him, by our Proprietary, the most tender concern for the safety and well-being of all his Majesty's subjects, under his care, might reasonably be expected) should be the principal, if not the first, person, in the government, who would render the intention of those acts void to us, though passed by himself into laws so lately before, by publicly declaring his opinions, in such manner, as would render the said acts repugnant to the laws of *England*, and repealed by the act of parliament of the first of his present Majesty; in pursuance of which opinion, he has refused to qualify such persons for offices, that could not take the oath, according to the law of *England*.

“ The consequence of which is, that, as no *Quaker* in *Great Britain*, is qualified, or permitted, to give evidence, in any criminal causes, or serve on any juries, or bear any office, or place of profit, in the government; so, should the same hold, in this colony, not only the great number of the first adventurers, with their descendants, of the same profession, are to be wholly excluded from having any part, or share, in the administration of justice, and the execution of the laws of the country, (which, as it would be a general inconvenience,

1716. conveniency, so would it throw the burden too heavily on a few of the inhabitants) but, what is of no less importance, for the security of those of other professions, the greatest outrages and barbarities, against any person, may be committed, in the face of any number of *Quakers*, and the malefactors, though brought to trial, must escape with impunity, for want of legal evidence, if that of the *Quakers* is not to be so accounted; of which the Governor cannot forget a very memorable instance, when (at a time, that unhappily there was no act of the province, for an *affirmation*, but the Queen's order was thought sufficient, during that interval, for all but capital cases) it is presumed a murderer escaped the sentence, that was due to him, for want of such evidence, as was esteemed legal, though more than one *Quaker* appeared in court, who were witnesses to the fact.

“ But, besides these inconveniencies, however great, there remains one further consequence of that construction of the act, which, perhaps, the Governor is not sufficiently advised of; which is, That, if no *Quaker*, in *Great Britain*, nor the *Plantations*, can bear any office, or place of profit, in the government, some may judge it a natural inference, that the Proprietary himself is equally affected by it; and then all powers derived from him, as well those lodged in the Governor, by his deputation, as the magistracy and inferior officers, fall together.

“ Having thus far pointed out the destructive consequences of that opinion, should it fully take place in this province, we judge it, in the next place, incumbent on us, in duty to the Governor, and for the discharge of the trust, reposed in us, by those we represent, to offer to the consideration of the Governor, and all others concerned, such reasons as have occurred to us, in our enquiry into
this

this head; which we hope (with submission) will render it incontestibly evident that the affirmation-acts of this province are in full force; and are neither repealed, nor affected by any act of parliament, that has come to our knowledge; but that the Governor is obliged to take care that the same be equally, with any other act, put duly in execution. 1716.

“ By the same royal charter of King *Charles* the Second, by which this province, with licence to transport an ample colony thereunto, was granted to our Proprietary, and the Governor in Chief, the said King grants to him and his heirs, &c. power to make laws jointly with the people; and directs the force and limitation of them, in the following words, as they stand in divers parts of the said charter, but are here collected, viz.

“ We, reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom, justice and provident circumspection of the said *William Penn*, for us and our heirs and successors, do grant free, full and absolute power, by virtue of these presents, to him and his heirs, and their deputies and lieutenants, for the good and happy government of the said country, to ordain, make, enact, and, under his and their seals, to publish any law whatsoever, for raising of money, for the public uses of the said province, or for any other end, &c. by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates, &c. and the same laws duly to execute unto and upon all people within the said country, and limits thereof; which laws, so as aforesaid to be published, our pleasure is, and so we enjoin, require and command, shall be most absolute and available in law: and that all the liege people and subjects of us, our heirs and successors, do observe and keep the same inviolably

1716. bly in those parts, so far as they concern them, under the penalties therein expressed, or to be expressed. *Provided nevertheless,* That the said laws be consonant to reason, and be not repugnant, or contrary, but as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the laws, statutes and rights of this our kingdom of *England*. *And our further will and pleasure is,* That the laws for regulating and governing property, within the said province, as well for the descent and enjoyment of lands, as likewise for the enjoyment of succession of goods and chattels, and likewise felonies, shall be and continue the same as they shall be, for the time being, by the general course of the law, in our kingdom of *England*, until the said laws shall be altered by the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, and by the freemen of the said province, their delegates, or their deputies, or the greater part of them. And to the end that the said *William Penn*, his heirs, or others, the planters, owners, or inhabitants of the said province, may not, at any time hereafter, by misconstruction of the powers aforesaid, through inadvertency, or design, depart from that faith, and due allegiance, which, by the laws of this our realm of *England*, they, and all our subjects, in our dominions and territories, always owe unto us, our heirs and successors, &c. *Our further will and pleasure is,* That a transcript or duplicate of all laws, which shall be, as aforesaid, made and published, within the said province, shall, within five years after the making thereof, be transmitted and delivered to the Privy Council, for the time being, of us, our heirs and successors; and if any of the said laws, within the space of six months, after they shall be so, as aforesaid, transmitted and delivered, be declared by us, our heirs and successors, in our or their Privy Council, inconsistent with the sovereignty, or lawful prerogative of us, our heirs, or successors, or contrary to the faith and
allegiance

allegiance due, by the legal government of this realm, from the said *William Penn*, or of the planters, or inhabitants of this province; and that thereupon any of the said laws shall be adjudged and declared to be void, by us, our heirs or successors, under our, or their privy seal, that then, and from thenceforth, such laws, concerning which such judgment and declaration shall be made, shall become void, otherwise the said laws, so transmitted, shall remain and stand in full force, according to the true intent and meaning thereof. 1716.

“ Pursuant to these powers, the said acts of this province, for an affirmation, were made and published. And though a considerable part of the five years, limited in the charter, is yet unexpired, the same have been duly transmitted; nor have we heard any thing, but that they are, or may be, well approved of; having reason to hope, that they contain nothing, for which (according to the tenor of the said royal charter) they ought to be declared void; and, therefore, are of as full force, as absolute and available, and to be observed and kept as inviolably as any law whatsoever, that can be enacted in this province, and ought accordingly to be as duly executed by the Governor, to the full extent thereof.

“ But the Governor, in answer to a resolution of this House of the 18th of October last, which was, That the royal charter makes the acts of this province most absolute and available in law, until repealed by the King, is pleased to say, That he joins with the Assembly, in this resolve, provided the laws are not repugnant to the laws of *England*; and by the following paragraph, in the same answer, which is, That he allows the laws of the province had settled the qualifications of Magistrates and other officers, until the publication of the act of King *George*, relating thereto, he has,

1716. at last, thought fit to give so much under his hand, as his opinion, the natural construction whereof is, that the said affirmation-acts of this province (being the subject then in hand) were repugnant to the laws of *England*, and repealed by the said act of parliament.

“ But this we humbly offer, That, if it must be termed repugnant, because it differs from, or is not the same with, the act of parliament, then the clause of the royal charter, which grants power to the Governor and Assembly here to alter the laws of *England*, for the descent of lands, enjoying estates, and punishing felonies, in the province (as is above recited from the said charter) appears to be useless and vain.

“ But it is further to be considered, That, as the term *repugnant*, always implies an absolute opposition, or contrariety, in matter, it cannot be said that an act of this province, which enables those, called *Quakers*, to serve in offices, upon juries, and to be evidence, in all cases (the circumstances of the country requiring that it should be so) is contrary to an act of *Great Britain*, which enables them only to give evidence in civil cases; these two differ, it is true, and so it was certainly considered and expected, at the time of the royal grant, that our acts might, in some measure, differ from those in *England*; otherwise those in *England* would suffice; and no such power for altering them needed to have been granted: on the contrary, the act of this province, pursuant to the directions of that royal charter, is as nearly agreeable, as to our conveniency may be, to the statute provided for *Quakers*, in *Great Britain*.

“ But the Governor, we presume, could not intend, by his answer, That this act, at the time of passing it, was repugnant to any of the laws of *England*, though it differed from them, for in that,

that, certainly, he could not have given it his sanction; it must, therefore, be meant, that it is become *repugnant* only since the supposed publication of the *British* act, which he conceives repealed it; or, to state what can be alledged on that head, in its full force, and the plainest terms it will bear, that the act of the first of king George, entitled, *An act for making perpetual an act of the seventh and eighth years of the reign of his late Majesty, King William the Third*, entitled, *An act, That the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, should be accepted instead of an oath, in the usual form, &c.* extends to this province that act of King William, by these words in the last clause of it, viz. *Provided always*, That so much of this act, as relates to the affirmations to be made by the people called *Quakers*, shall be extended to that part of *Great Britain*, called Scotland, for ever, and to the plantations belonging to the crown of *Great Britain*, for five years, &c. Therefore, that, as the *Quakers* are not permitted, by that act, in *Great Britain*, to hold offices, serve on juries, or be evidence in criminal cases, so, by its being extended to the plantations, they are as effectually disabled there, and that all acts of this province, for qualifying *Quakers*, in these cases, are, by the superior force of this act of parliament, repealed, and made utterly void.

1716.

“ But when the language of the act itself comes to be considered, the whole seeming force of this objection will, we presume, entirely disappear; the clause of limitation, in the seventh and eighth of *William the Third*, is in these words: “ *Provided, and be it enacted, That no Quaker, or reputed Quaker, shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified or permitted, to give evidence, in any criminal causes, to serve on any juries, to bear any office, or place of profit, in the government, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.*”

Upon

1716. Upon which we conceive that Brigadier *Hunter*, Governor, under his Majesty, of the provinces of *New York* and *New Jersey*, has (in a case parallel with ours) observed, in his printed declaration on that subject, under the title of, “An answer to what has been offered, as argument against the validity and force of an act of Assembly, entitled, *An act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, &c.* passed in the province of *New Jersey*, in the thirteenth year of the reign of *Queen Anne*, to be of such force, as to be worthy our recital: in which, after he has observed, in general, in the following words:—
“Into what a woful condition must the plantations be plunged, if such laws as shall, by a Legislature lawfully constituted by virtue of letters patent, under the broad seal, be enacted for the good government and ease of the subjects there, shall, by implication, or construction, be deemed to be repealed!” &c. he is pleased to say, that act of Assembly is not so much as, by implication, repealed; for the words of that act, upon which they lay the stress of the argument, are these, *Provided, that no Quaker shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified, &c.* Now I know no *Quaker*, continues that gentleman, that pretends he is, or can, by virtue of that act, be qualified; but I believe every *Quaker* thinks that he is, or may be, qualified by an act of Assembly, entitled, *An act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers, &c.* passed in the province, and sent home, &c. It is as plain as words can make it, that that act, of the seventh and eighth of King *William*, has no negative, but upon itself, and consequently cannot be alledged in bar to any laws already enacted, in the plantations, or even such as may be enacted; for, by these letters patent, which gave a being to this government and Legislature, all such laws, as shall be enacted

enacted by the Governor, Council and Assembly, ^{1716.}
are declared to be in full force, from the time of
enacting.

“ The same worthy gentleman and Governor is further pleased, in the said print, to publish an instruction from the late Queen, in whose reign that act of Assembly was made, directing him to pass such an act in *New Jersey*; by which instruction her Majesty was pleased further to declare her will and pleasure, “ That such of the people called *Quakers*, as shall be found capable of serving in her Council, the General Assembly, and in other places of trust and profit, in *New Jersey*, and accordingly be elected, or appointed, to serve therein, may, upon their taking and signing the declaration of allegiance to her Majesty, in the form, used by the same people, in *England*, together with a solemn declaration of the true discharge of their respective trusts, be admitted by the Governor to any of the said places or employments.” And he adds, “ That the same instructions are, word for word, also contained in his present Majesty’s instructions to the Governor, dated the first of July, 1715. By which it appears, that both the late Queen was, and his present Majesty is, willing that the people called *Quakers*, immediately under their government, in *New Jersey*, should enjoy the full privileges, which are craved here, as due to the people, we represent, by their charteral rights, under the government of our Proprietary, *William Penn*.

“ To this we may add what has also been observed, on the same subject, by the Chief Justice of *New Jersey*, in his speech, delivered at the supreme court, in May last, at *Burlington*, which is also printed; wherein he clearly gives his opinion in law, very nearly in the same terms, the Governor
had

1716. had done before, and then proceeds, in these words, *viz.*

“ The act of parliament of *Great Britain* is an enlargement of the *Quakers* privileges to what it never was before; it makes that perpetual to them, in *England*, which before was temporary and expired, or near expiring, by its own limitation, carries the same into that part of *Great Britain*, called *Scotland*, where it was not before, and makes it perpetual there, and into the plantations, generally, for five years. This does no way hinder, but that, by virtue of the act of Assembly of the province (which is a municipal law thereof) the *Quakers*, or reputed *Quakers*, are qualified to be of juries and evidence, and bear offices of trust and profit, in the government; nor, but that they may be so qualified hereafter, by any other law, hereafter to be made, for that, or the like purpose, although by virtue of that act of parliament, they are not so qualified.

“ Having thus far stated this point, we shall now leave it; but that we are obliged to give the sense of this House to that part of the Governor’s answer to our resolves, in which he is pleased to say, That though he was of opinion he could not be safe in giving any qualification but an oath, yet by a *dedimus* they, (the officers and witnesses) might have been qualified, as the law directs.

“ On which we must humbly observe, That though it may be very certain a *dedimus potestatem*, duly issued by the Governor, is no less sufficient, in law, for administering qualifications to any officer, than the Governor’s act, in his own person; which, notwithstanding, the Governor has not of late, that we know of, condescended to, but refused to admit such of those called *Quakers*, as, by virtue of the Proprietary’s charter to the people, were elected to serve in certain offices,
until

until that more remarkable case of the last qualification of the Mayor of *Philadelphia*; yet no such *dedimus* will answer the exigencies of this government, should the Governor's opinion obtain: for should it be taken for granted, that the affirmation-act of this province is actually repealed by the act of parliament, then all such qualifications will be construed illegal, whether given by himself, or other persons, empowered by him. And as the Judges of the supreme court have rendered their reasons to the House, for their not proceeding to try the criminals, now in the respective gaols of this province, viz. *That they cannot think it prudent to proceed, by virtue of the Governor's commission to them, in opposition to his opinion, in so tender a point, as the lives of his Majesty's subjects* :* so all others must be discouraged in cases of such vast consequence; for no *dedimus* will make that act sufficient, that is in itself illegal.

“ It has, by this time, we hope, clearly appeared, from what has been offered, That the opinion of the Governor is (with submission) neither founded on law nor reason; but from hence we cannot but desire the Governor may be induced more seriously and maturely to consider how unaccountable and astonishing it must appear to mankind, that, while such persons as Governor *Hunter*, who holds his commission directly from the crown, is accountable to no other principal, nor under obligations to any called a *Quaker*, as a superior, has thought it necessary, in the discharge of his trust, to publish his reasons, in such a manner, for removing mistakes, and allaying the disturbances from thence fomented; at the same time, though such an example be set to us, at no greater distance, than the other bank of *Delaware*, our *Proprietary*, *William Penn's* Lieutenant, in the province,

* The names of these Judges were, William Trent, Jonathan Dickinson and George Roach,

1716. province of *Pennsylvania*, should be drawn into measures so injurious, not only to the interest of his principal, from which he derives his power, but to the very being of the constitution, over which he is entrusted to preside. We heartily wish we could, by any construction, find other causes, to which these procedures might be imputed, than a formed design; but we are justly alarmed at some other late proceedings of the Governor, which, as they have naturally fallen under our notice, we think ourselves also obliged, in duty, to represent:

“ When the House had chosen their Speaker, and the Governor, without any objection, approved their choice, they proceeded to take the usual qualifications as the law, in that case, directs; but upon the rumours, that had been spread, of persons disaffected to his present Majesty, that this House might give the utmost expressions, they could, of their loyalty, they, by a message to the Governor, requested to know, if besides what they had taken as usual, the Governor had any directions from *Great Britain*, or any other qualification to offer to the House; to which, he was pleased to answer, *he had not*: the House notwithstanding resolved to neglect no part of their duty, but to give all the assurances of their loyalty, in their power, thought fit unanimously to take and subscribe the test, called the *abjuration*, every one, in the way prescribed to them by the several acts of parliament, according to their religious persuasions, and then proceeded to the business before them.

“ But being informed that the Governor had, at divers times, and to sundry persons, charged the present Mayor of the city of *Philadelphia*, now Speaker of the House, as a person disaffected to his Majesty, King *George*; and that he further
alleged,

alleged, the only cause of difference betwixt him and the said Mayor, was, because the Governor would not agree to proclaim the Pretender, or words to the same effect; the House conceived themselves obliged, in duty to his said Majesty, to enquire into the grounds of this heinous charge, that, in case there should be any found, they might purge themselves of the scandal. 1716.

“ Accordingly, having, in a committee of the whole House, taken full proofs, that the Governor had so charged the Speaker, and finding, by the same evidence, that he had, in the same manner, also charged *James Logan*, Secretary of the province, they, by a message, desired of the Governor, that he would be pleased to lay before the House his grounds for these accusations; but he returned no other answer, than, “ That he thought himself not obliged to render any reasons to the House for his accusation, but would do it at the board at home;” and the Members, sent on the message, could not persuade him to give any reasons here.

“ The House thereupon judged it still the more incumbent on them to enquire fully into the matter; and accordingly they, by a written message, informed the Governor, That, being under a deep concern, on all occasions, to shew their loyalty, as faithful subjects, to King *George*, they could, by no means, think themselves discharged of their duty, without further enquiring into the truth of the report, which they had received, and acquainted the Governor with, which affected their Speaker and another person, bearing considerable offices and trusts, in the government; and finding the Governor’s answer to the last message, concerning the same, not satisfactory, they further acquainted him, that the House intended immediately to resolve into a committee, in order to enquire into

1716. that matter, and that the said committee would be desirous to receive from the Governor, or any other person, any information concerning the same, in order to proceed to the extent of what is their duty, and purge the House of any Member, or Members thereof, that may appear, or shall be found guilty of disloyalty to the King, or disaffection to his government, under which the House unanimously declared themselves extremely happy, and well satisfied.

“ But the Governor, though another message was sent to him, to crave his answer, could not be prevailed on to give any, but that he had nothing to lay before them; the House notwithstanding, while formed into a committee for that purpose, proceeded to make the utmost enquiries, in their power; but could not find the least ground to suspect the persons charged, or to believe the accusations, against them, had any manner of foundation.

“ Now what sentiments can be formed of such a conduct, in a person, acting in so exalted a station, the House must acknowledge themselves to be at a loss to determine! But the House would consider it, as no small happiness to the whole province, could they be assured that the Governor had no design, by his representations to any board, at home, to raise a merit to himself, on the ruin of others; who, could they be heard there, and fully known, might be found as faithful and loyal, in their stations, to the present establishment and succession, as any of the King's subjects whatsoever.

“ Had the Governor believed the Speaker to be such a person, as he has thought fit to render him, it was doubtless incumbent on the Governor to except against him, when first presented by the House, in that station, or had he suspected either
the

the Speaker, or any other Member, to be disaffected to the King, it might be no less expected, that he should have recommended to the House, the further qualification of the *abjuration*, as a test to them: but, if the Speaker of the House of Representatives of *Pennsylvania*, and others acting in the great trusts, are to be rendered to the ministry, or to any board, as persons so notoriously disaffected, as the Governor's charges imply, and this without the least proof offered here, though so importunately, and yet dutifully solicited, it will force all thinking persons on apprehensions, that there is more intended by it, than can safely be acknowledged here, where things and persons are better known, than can possibly be at such a distance, as the other side of the ocean.

“ Having proceeded to such a length, on these two important subjects, we should now chuse to bring this *representation* to a period, but that the Governor's written answer to another message from the House exacts our notice; in which he is pleased to say, That he is given to understand, (for which he thinks fit to quote the language of former Assemblies, and some of the Council) that this House did not design to make laws, nor raise any money this session, but upon terms inconsistent with the Governor's duty and safety to comply with. To which the justest reply we can, at present, return, is, That this House came together with no other views, than to discharge their duty, in all respects, to the best of their skill and power; and they have nothing to crave of the Governor, but what they firmly believe is not only his duty, but for his honour and safety, to grant them: they would willingly have proceeded to enquire what further laws may be necessary for the well-being of the province, in general, the Governor having told us, in his speech, That, if
we

1716. we should have any other bills to offer, that might be for the interest and tranquillity of the people, he should be ready to pass them, and promised himself, that he would make a return suitable to their circumstances, and the advantages they will receive by them: but, in his next written message, he informed the House, “ That he disagreed from both the Council and Assembly, in his opinion, upon a point of such importance to the security, as well as tranquillity of the people, that no bill of ours can be of more to us:” the purport of which was, that he declared (in opposition to both Council and Assembly) that one of the last laws, he himself had passed, which most nearly affected us, was void, and this by construction only; we could not, therefore, find any encouragement from the Governor’s proposals to us, to think any other bill, we could offer, was worth the soliciting, and much less deserving, a further consideration.

“ To this we must not omit adding, That we find judgment was given against one *Hugh Lowdon*, at the court of common pleas, in September last, whereupon the said *Hugh Lowdon*, giving way to the greatest resentment and rage, vowed revenge, at the utmost hazards, against the aforesaid Speaker and Secretary (being two of the Justices of that court) and having furnished himself with pistols, way-laid them, at their doors, and meeting the Speaker, the same night, he presented at him a pistol loaden with bullets; although, by the overruling hand of Providence, no further mischief ensued. As this attempt could not but raise a horror in the hearts of all good men, we find the said *Lowdon* was bound over to the court, now sitting, and indictments were found against him, for the same; at which the Governor, instead of protecting the Magistrates, in the discharge of their trusts,

trusts, has now thought fit to grant *Noli Prosequi's*, 1716. in the said *Lowdon's* favour, in the same manner he had formerly done, for one *Francis Phillips* (that scandal to his order) when indicted and prosecuted for notorious crimes, after all the neighbouring clergy had disowned him. Which proceedings, as they rendered the administration contemptible, so we also justly fear they will encourage ill-minded men to the same attempts, in hopes of the like favour.

“ But, to sum up the whole, we can truly say, we are extremely troubled, that we cannot enjoy the same happiness, that most of our neighbours respectively do, of seeing our Governor take such measures, as should, by an agreeable force, sway the people's inclinations, to render him easy, in all respects; which can be effected by no means so powerfully, as first rendering them easy, in the enjoyment of those privileges, which they have an undoubted right to: and we are but too well assured, that the only cause of a failure herein, is the Governor's mistake, since the Proprietary's indisposition, in the choice of his advisers; who, whatever views they may, at present form, will, at length, be found the sole occasion of all the disappointments, that may fall to the Governor's portion; for, even, though acting by commission, immediately from the crown, he would have the same injured people to deal with.”

Thus far this representation: what follows of it is chiefly a number of law cases, adduced in confirmation of the opinion of the House; which may be seen at length, in the printed votes of the Assembly of the province.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXII.

Governor Gookin takes his last leave of the Assembly, being superseded by Sir William Keith.—Governor Keith's first speech to the Assembly, with their answer and his reply.—Governor and Assembly concerned at the great influx of foreigners.—Dr. Griffith Owen.—Address of the Governor and Assembly to the King.—Great harmony between the Governor and Assembly.—William Penn's death and character, &c.

1717. **I**T doth not appear that Governor *Gookin* made any reply to this representation; but that, in the first month, 1716-17, by a written message to the House, he took his last leave of them, in full assurance, that he should soon be superseded; and, without making any further reflection on them, or their conduct, he recommended to their consideration the charge of his returning to seek another employment; declaring, that the uncertainty of his being provided for at home; the thoughts of what he had left, to serve the Proprietary and the province, and the disappointments he had met with, so filled his mind, that they would excuse his not saying any more.

The Governor
Gookin
takes his
last leave of
the Assembly,
&c.

The Assembly gave him two hundred pounds, on the occasion; and on the first of May next following, he was superseded by Sir *William Keith*; who, by summons, convened the Assembly, on the 19th day of the sixth month, 1717.

Governor
Gookin is
superseded
by Sir Wil-
liam Keith.

Sir

Sir *William Keith* was a man of popular address, and acquainted with the art of gaining the affection of the people; which, after so much altercation and tedious dispute between the Assembly and the two preceding Governors, *Evans* and *Gookin*, had so much the more effect, and rendered his administration both the more acceptable and useful to the province. The following was his first speech to the Assembly, on the twentieth day of the sixth month, August, O. S.

1717.

Sir William Keith was a man of popular address, &c.

“ *Mr. Speaker, and*

“ *Gentlemen of the Assembly,*

“ Being informed, upon my arrival here, that the season of harvest, then at hand, could not well permit you to meet me, in your representative capacity, until that busy time be over; I did, out of a tender regard for your interests, then delay the satisfaction I still proposed to myself, in meeting with this present Assembly; and I will always endeavour to make the time, you must necessarily bestow on the public service, as easy and pleasant to yourselves as, I hope, it will be profitable and satisfactory to the country in general.

Governor Keith's first speech to the Assembly.

“ If an affectionate desire, to oblige and serve the people of this province, can qualify me, in their good opinions, for the station wherein I am now placed, I may then expect that the country's and the Governor's interest will be effectually established upon one bottom, as that he, who truly wishes well to either, cannot but find himself engaged to serve both; and you yourselves may easily infer the warmth of my inclinations towards the service and prosperity of this country.

“ First, From the expensive application, last year, by which I carefully introduced to his royal highness, the Prince of *Wales*, then Regent, the humble address of the Assembly to the King, in
such

1717. such manner, as freely to obtain his royal highness's most gracious assurance, that the people called *Quakers*, were a body of loyal subjects, for whom the King had great regard; and that his highness was sorry the King was not then present to receive so good an address; but that the *Quakers* might, at all times, depend on his highness's good-will, to serve them, in any thing, they had to ask of his royal father.

“ Then, the diligence, wherewith I obtained, at a considerable charge, the commission of Governor, without any other certain prospect, or advantage, but only that I should be thereby enabled more effectually to serve you.

“ And, lastly, by the great fatigue I have undergone, since my arrival here, that no opportunity might be slipped, to encourage virtue, and promote the general good of your country; but these considerations are trifles, compared with the indispensable obligation, that is of necessity upon you, to support the dignity and authority of this government, by such a reasonable and discreet establishment, as the nature of the thing, and your own generosity will direct.

“ And whatsoever you shall think fit to do, in that kind, pray let it no longer bear the undeserved and reproachful name of a burden upon the people; but rather let your Governor be enabled to relieve the country from real burdens, by putting it in his power to direct a better œconomy, and more frugal management of such taxes, as would answer the uses, for which they are intended, if not squandered by the bare-faced partiality and unprofitable expense of the officers appointed to assess and collect the same.

“ Gentlemen, I doubt not, but you will take the first opportunity, under a new administration, to examine the state of your laws, in order to
revive

revive some, that are obsolete, or expired; and to make such alterations and additions, as shall be found necessary, for perfecting the constitution, and good order of government, in this province. 1717.

“For that end, I am, on my part, ready to concur with you, in every thing, which you can possibly desire, or expect, from a Governor, who conscientiously intends to observe, and steadily resolves to pursue the duty of his office.”

On the twenty-second, the Assembly presented him the following address, *viz.*

“The address of the freemen of *Pennsylvania*, in Assembly met, in answer to the Governor’s speech of the twentieth instant.

The Assembly’s answer to the Governor’s speech.

“*May it please the Governor,*

“We gladly embrace this first opportunity to congratulate the Governor’s happy and safe arrival to us, with an eye to that good Providence, which preserved him and his family from pirates; who, at that time, much infested our coast; some of whom (as we are informed) waited with hopes of his falling into their hands.

“This House, maturely considering the Governor’s speech, find themselves obliged, in duty, to make grateful acknowledgments, for the Governor’s tender regards to the interest of the public.

“The Governor’s affectionate desire, to oblige and serve the people of this province, doth, and shall, meet with dutiful returns, in all matters, that come before us; and this House will contribute all, in their power, to preserve the interest of the Governor and people upon one bottom.

“And as we must acknowledge the people of this province to stand highly obliged to the Governor’s application and care, in presenting to the

VOL. II.

[13]

Prince,

1717.

Prince, then Regent, the humble address of the Assembly of this province, so we gladly take this occasion to confess the warmth of our hearts, in loyalty, duty and affection to the King, and royal family, and entreat the Governor, upon all occasions, so to represent us.

“ We cannot but express the pleasure, and great satisfaction of this House, in that the Proprietary hath been pleased to place, and his Majesty to approve of, so worthy a gentleman, in commission over us; and hope our behaviour, and that of all the people of this province, will always be such as may preserve the good inclinations of the Governor to serve the country; an instance whereof we have in the fatiguing journeys he hath taken, in the late hot season, to promote the good of those under his government.

“ As the Governor was pleased to defer calling us, for the sake of harvest, so we crave leave to observe to him, that seed time being just at hand, it will be a great inconveniency to many of the Members to stay long at this season, so that we do not undertake, at this sitting, to enter upon an examination of our laws, or any business that will require length of time, but, depend upon the Governor's resolves and good intentions to oblige the people, by concurring with any thing, they can reasonably desire, for their service.

“ We, on our part, being fully satisfied, in our duty of supporting, as far as in us lies, the dignity and authority of this government, have at this time voted, *nemine contradicente*, that the sum of *five hundred pounds* shall be given to the Governor, and paid out of the first public money, that shall arise, by any means, in the treasury; and to make it more certain, are now preparing a bill, which will be offered to the Governor, for augmenting the public stock.”

To

To this address the Governor made the following reply, viz. 1717.

“ *Mr. Speaker, and*

“ *Gentlemen of the Assembly,*

“ I received a very affectionate address from your House ; for which I heartily thank you ; and the generous acknowledgment, you have been pleased to make of my late endeavours to serve this country, cannot but greatly encourage me diligently to carry on the same public service, in all its parts. Governor Keith's reply.

“ Your dutiful expressions of loyalty and affection to the King and royal family, shall be carefully represented by me to his Majesty, and his servants, in the ministry ; and while the spirit of unanimity, and so amiable a temper, with respect to government, is continued and preserved amongst you, I will take upon me to say, that you may be firmly assured of the King's favourable countenance, and gracious condescension, in all our applications to the throne.

“ Gentlemen, since you have observed to me, that it will be inconvenient for you to enter upon any business now, which may detain you from your urgent affairs, at this time, in the country, I cannot but condescend that you may make such an adjournment, as you think will best suit with the season of the year ; for I shall still have a great regard to the opinion, as well as the advantage and ease, of so good an Assembly.”

The Assembly, elected in October, 1717, chose *William Trent*, Speaker. About which time, the great influx of foreigners,* into the province, Many foreigners arrive in the province. created

* Many of the *Mennonists*, &c. appear to have arrived in *Pennsylvania*, about this time, from *Germany*, &c.

In the latter part of the year 1717, died *Dr. Griffith Owen*, of *Philadelphia*. He came to *Pennsylvania* among the early settlers ; and was said

1717.

The Governor concerned at the great influx, &c. of foreigners.

created such apprehensions, that Governor *Keith*, in his speech to the House, after recommending their revising and amending their laws, proposed to their consideration, whether some regulation might not be necessary, in regard to the unlimited numbers of these foreigners coming without licence from the King, or leave of the government? On which affair, the Assembly, in their reply, likewise expressed their concern, with the jealousies and uneasiness, raised in the minds of the inhabitants, respecting the inconveniencies, that might attend their settlement, in too large numbers together, in one place, or promiscuously among the *Indians*. They desired the Governor's sentiments thereon; and that he would either appoint a committee of the Council, to join with one of the Assembly, on this business, or otherwise, as he thought proper.

This the Governor approved of; but, as he had lately wrote to the Secretary of state, on the affair, the further consideration of it was, for the present, deferred, in expectation of advice from *England*: and being desired by the Assembly to give them his assistance, in the revival of their laws, he willingly and obligingly agreed to their request.

1718.

In the spring of the year 1718, Sir *William Keith* proposed to join with the House, in the following address to the King; which was drawn up by him, and laid before the Assembly, for their concurrence;

to be of great and eminent service among them, in divers capacities. As a preacher among the *Quakers* he was highly esteemed, being an active, exemplary, and very useful member of that religious society. In the civil department his merit and abilities raised him to several public stations; wherein he acted with judgment and integrity, being long one of the Governor's Council, &c. But his practice as a Physician, in which he was very knowing and eminent, rendered him of still greater value and importance, in the place where he lived; with these qualities he is said to have preserved the sincerity and meekness of a true Christian, and died much beloved by a large acquaintance of people of different ranks and societies.

rence; to which, with some alteration, or amendment, and an exception to the style of it,* they 1718. acceded; and it being signed by the Governor, and Speaker of the Assembly, was accordingly forwarded to *Great Britain*, viz.

“ *To the King’s most excellent Majesty.*

“ The humble *address* and *representation* of the Governor and General Assembly, of your Majesty’s province of *Pennsylvania*, met, at *Philadelphia*, the day of May, 1718.

Address to
the King,
by the Go-
vernor and
Assembly.

“ *Most gracious Sovereign,*

“ We, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects and servants, being filled with a dutiful and just sense of that tender care and concern, which your Majesty has, on every occasion, been pleased to express, for the peace and prosperity of all your people, do, with profound humility and submission, presume to address your sacred Majesty, in behalf of your Majesty’s good subjects, the people of this province, whom we have the honour, at this time, to represent, in a legislative capacity.

“ May it, therefore, please your Majesty to know, that, in the year 1681, this colony was settled by a considerable number of *English* subjects, called *Quakers*, under the care, encouragement and direction of *William Penn*, Esquire, our Proprietary and Governor in Chief.

“ That the persecution, which, in those days, prevailed against Protestant dissenters, in *England*, was the principal motive and reason, why the first settlers

* The customs peculiar to the *Quakers*, as a religious people, have already been mentioned in the introduction; and, according to one of these customs, I find, in the printed votes of the Assembly, on this affair, the following observation, viz. “ The style of the said address being in the plural term, (*you*) and the majority of the Assembly being of the people called *Quakers*, the House entirely agree to the matter and substance of the said address; but except only against some part of the style.”

1718.

settlers of this country removed their estates and families hither, where they might quietly and peaceably enjoy that innocent liberty of conscience, which they conceived to be every man's natural right.

“ That, by the unwearied application, industry and expence of the inhabitants, this colony is now increased to a considerable body of people, whereof the majority continue to remain in the society of *Friends*, called *Quakers*.

“ That, such being the peculiar and distinguishing circumstance of this, from any other colony, under his Majesty's dominions, in *America*, the offices of government must, of necessity, be supplied, and the powers executed, by those of the *Quaker's* persuasion, intermixed with such others, as are to be found here, in the communion of the Church of *England*, and good Protestant subjects, well affected to your Majesty, and your government.

“ That the happy influence of your Majesty's most equal and just administration, every where, has perfectly united our hearts and minds to contribute our utmost endeavours, for carrying on the business of the government of this province, in such manner, as may be most agreeable and acceptable to your Majesty, and your ministry, at home.

“ That, for this end we have laboured, more generally of late, to regulate the proceedings, in our courts of judicature, as near as possibly could be done, to the constitution and practice of the laws of *England*.

“ That, from many years experience, we are not only convinced that the *solemn affirmation* allowed in *Great Britain*, to the people called *Quakers*, doth, in all respects, and in every case, here,

answer

answer the legal and essential purposes of an *oath*, 1718. but also the growing condition of this colony, which brings great numbers of people yearly from *Europe*, to reside among us.

“ The multitude of pirates abroad, and other loose vagrant people, who are daily crowding in, to shelter themselves under the peaceable administration of this government; and the absolute necessity there is to punish such, as shall dare to oppose, and break through, the known laws of society and humanity, lays us under the greatest obligations, with security to our lives, as well as the just maintenance of your Majesty's royal authority over us, not to reject or despise, the *solemn affirmation*, allowed to the *Quakers*; without which, we humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, judges, juries, nor evidences, sufficient, could never yet be found here, in the most criminal and notorious cases.

“ That formerly, it having been found impracticable to keep and preserve the public peace, within this government, any other way, than by admitting the *solemn affirmation*, in all cases whatsoever, to have the same force and effect in law, as an oath, upon a representation thereof to the *board of trade*, the late Queen *Anne*, by an order, in council, dated the 21st of January, 1702-3, was pleased to direct, in the alternative, *viz.*

“ That all persons, acting in any judicial, or other, offices, within this province of *Pennsylvania*, and three lower counties upon *Delaware*, should be obliged to take an *oath*, or, in lieu thereof, the *solemn affirmation* allowed, in *England*, to the people called *Quakers*, and that, in all their public and judicial proceedings, the said judges and officers shall be obliged to administer the oaths, appointed by law, or the said attestation.

“ That

1718.

“ That the *Quakers*, in general, having approved themselves to be an industrious and quiet people, most heartily attached to your Majesty’s royal person and government, your loyal subjects of that persuasion, in this province, do humbly hope that your Majesty will vouchsafe to indulge their tender consciences, in the case of oaths, with the same freedom, that has been granted to them by your royal predecessors, and thereby we shall be effectually enabled to perform our respective duties, in preserving your Majesty’s peace, within the jurisdiction of this province, and to enforce the just regard and obedience, due unto your royal authority, as becomes, may it please your Majesty, your Majesty’s most loyal, most faithful, and most obedient subjects and servants.”

This affair of the *solemn affirmation* of the *Quakers*, appears not to have been finally settled, or fixed, to the satisfaction of the province, and according to that right, which the inhabitants of it thought themselves justly entitled to, till the year 1725; which will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place.

The Governor
praises the
Assembly,
&c.

At the conclusion of this session, near the approach of harvest, Governor *Keith*, in his speech to this Assembly, highly complimented them, on account of the valuable and wholesome laws, “ which (says he) were composed with so much care, by your diligent application, and the great temper, and perfect unanimity, wherewith the public affairs had been carried on, through all the parts of the administration of the government, for the last twelve months; which, he further declared, must, by that time, have convinced all reasonable men, among them, of the many and great advantages, that such a harmony secures to the commonwealth; at the same time assuring them of his fixed resolution, according to the utmost

most of his capacity, to act, in every respect, for 1718.
the general good and interest of the province.

On the 30th day of the 5th month, (July) William Penn's death, &c.
1718, at *Rushcomb*, near *Twyford*, in *Buckinghamshire*, in *England*, died the truly honourable Proprietary and Founder of the province of *Pennsylvania*, *William Penn*, aged about seventy-four years. He had, in the year 1712, as before mentioned, been seized with some fits of the apoplectic kind; which, for the last six years of his life, had so affected his mental faculties, especially his memory, as to render him, in great measure, incapable of public business; which, with the gradual decline of his strength of body, continued to increase, till the last period of his days: during which time, nevertheless, he is said to have been mostly sensible, intelligent, and, by his behaviour and expressions, at different times, to those, who were present with him, manifested, that he retained, till his death, the happy enjoyment of that divine and mental felicity, which resulted from the nature of his religion, and manner of life.

Much of his character may be seen in the preceding sketch of his life, and in this Historical Of his character, &c.
Account of *Pennsylvania*: a life of universal benevolence, and good actions, to mankind, in general, both in a religious and civil capacity. But the most lasting memorial of his great utility to the human race is his literary works, first printed in two folio volumes, and his flourishing and happy province of *Pennsylvania*. The former being instructive, in the paths of virtue, and true felicity, to future generations; and the latter, an excellent example, for surrounding countries, and succeeding ages, to imitate, of the happy effects of a wise and generous plan of liberty, and a prudent religious toleration, among a virtuous people.

As

1718.

Particular
properties.

As to himself, I find expressed of him, by those, who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his true character and real merit, That he was a person endowed with great penetration and forethought; and a most sincere lover of truth and sincerity (which, in no small degree, is also manifest from the short sketch of his life and transactions, given in the preceding part of this work). He had great natural abilities, and much acquired knowledge; which he ever rendered subservient to the great interests of religion and virtue. He was chaste and circumspect, yet pleasant in conversation; and of an engaging and obliging disposition and behaviour. He exhibited to the world a bright and amiable example, wherein the most excellent qualities of the accomplished gentleman, and real Christian united; and, in different countries, ranks and conditions of men, appeared a shining instance, that piety and virtue are not incompatible with a fine understanding.

Religious
benefit.

Besides, being divinely qualified, he was a very able and excellent instrument, in the hand of divine Providence, in removing much of that superstitious bigotry and ignorance, which, for ages, had overspread, and, even, till his time, remained, in a very remarkable manner, to cover the minds of all ranks of people; and, by introducing, in their stead, especially among the higher class of men, a more liberal, and rational, way of thinking, on religious subjects; and in what relates to the best improvement of the human mind, and its truest, and most lasting interest.

Political
utility.

Moreover, actuated by the same principles, and induced by the same motives, of universal benevolence and improvement, in the condition of the human race, he has, in the much admired, and long conspicuous effects of his civil polity and government, eminently exemplified to the world, how

how happy it is possible for mankind to live here, 1718.
 on earth, if the fault is not their own; a glorious
 example, and worthy of all imitation! wherein it
 is most manifest, that, contrary to the common
 course of human affairs, war, violence and injus-
 tice have, in an extraordinary manner, given way
 to the happy and glorious means of peace, and of
 Christian perseverance in patience, equity and be-
 neficence to mankind; insomuch, that if the fable
 of the *golden age* was ever verified, or a *paradisical*
state introduced on earth, in reality, it has been
 universally acknowledged, they must have borne
 the nearest resemblance to that of *Pennsylvania*!

In his printed works themselves are exhibited
 the manner of his writing and the nature of his Printed
works.
 compositions: his style is free and sweet, yet
 strong and nervous; without affectation, and not
 laboured with a tedious formality of expression;
 which before had been so customary and fashiona-
 ble, in the nation; but his periods are generally
 short, yet full, flowing and agreeable, that he in-
 sensibly gains upon his reader; and while he allures
 his attention, he adds profit to delight: but orna-
 ment of speech was the least part of his study;
 the grand objects of his concern were the nature
 and importance of his subjects; which, though
 some of them respected particular times, persons
 and things, were generally the most interesting,
 that could possibly employ the attention of the
 human mind.

Should any persons be disposed to censure him, Of William
Penn's go-
vernment,
 on account of some of his Lieutenant Governors,
 or, the want of still further advantages, which,
 they may apprehend, were in his power to have
 granted the province, it may be observed, That it
 is not so much the possession, as the proper use, of
 any thing valuable, which renders people happy;
 and the perversion thereof causes their misery;
 that

1718. that the state and condition of human nature is such, as will only bear what may be called blessings to a certain degree; beyond which they become the contrary;

“Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines;
Quos ultra, citraque nequit consistere rectum.”*

Hor.

In forming a proper judgment of this nature, the considerations, on both sides of the question, ought to have due weight.

Proportion-
ate power
and means
necessary
for actions.

His actions
great, com-
pared with
the means,
&c.

First, Not only what may be desirable and useful for the governed, but also the power, and proper requisites of government itself, ought to be duly considered; for no valuable effect can reasonably be expected, without the possession and preservation of suitable power, ability and means, in the efficient, to perform it: these, in a limited proprietary under the crown, with the terms and obligations, upon which they were held of superior power, ought, in forming a just estimate, in this case, to be compared with the valuable and happy effects, which were really experienced, in consequence of the power and authority, with which he was, in this restricted capacity, invested; for there is great and sufficient reason to suppose, that, had he, contrary to what he actually did, pursued a conduct, agreeable to the partial interest of some, or the contracted minds of others; or, had he acted from views of that impracticable equality, or ungovernable liberty, which the Eutopian imaginations of some shallow projectors, and rash schemers, might endeavour to promote, who, by attempting too much, lose all, many would never have so happily experienced, nor the world have seen, the glorious effects of his excellent management, for so long a space of time.

Secondly,

* *J. F.* “There is a medium in things, or a certain boundary fixed; on both sides, or out of which, the line of rectitude cannot exist.”

Hor.

Secondly, In forming such a decision, the clamours of some of the provincial Assemblies ought not to be the sole criterion, to judge by; particularly, in their contending for more power than, it is most manifest, was ever intended them, or, from the best rational principles, judged to be for their real benefit; clamours, in great measure, either groundless, mistaken, or magnified, for particular purposes; and of dangerous, or, at least, of uncertain consequence, both to the Proprietary and themselves; and probably impossible for him safely to comply with: for it is most certain, that it was not always in his power to do as he pleased; and his ever being a friend to rational, or true, liberty, was never questioned; but he very well knew, that power, unduly proportioned, in the different parts of government, weakens its force, frustrates its design, and, without prudence, judgment and unanimity, soon destroys its own existence.

1718.
Clamours of
some of the
Assemblies
against Wil-
liam Penn,
mistaken,
&c.

Thirdly, A just and proper estimate and comparison should be made, not only of the restricted power, and over ruled authority of the Proprietary, but also of the smallness of his fortune, or the narrowness of his circumstances, with the greatness of his actions; his long and assiduous labour and attention, his great expense and patience, both in effecting and preserving what he effected, in regard to the province, as originating in a just debt, due to his father, ought not only to have due place, in such an account, but also the numerous and various acts of both public and private beneficence, should be truly estimated; in which, it is most certain, he was continually, and in an extraordinary manner, engaged for the general and particular good of mankind, in *Europe*, besides his founding the province of *Pennsylvania*, and effectually providing for such advantage, freedom and

The great-
ness of his
actions to
be compar-
ed with his
means and
ability, &c.

1718. and prosperity of its inhabitants, as no other person, that we know of, had done for any country; with the nature and deficiency of his returns from thence;* which, instead of producing him a real benefit, proportionate, or similar, to what he had done for that province, afford no small argument in his favour, and as little honour to such as may be most disposed to cavil, in this respect, that, in the latter part of his life, when, it might reasonably be thought he ought to have reaped different fruits from that department of his labours, he should have any real occasion to say, or lament, as he did, that those, which he received from thence, were actually the *cause of grief, trouble and poverty!* Moreover, how much he stood on his terms with the different interests at court, is a circumstance of no small moment; with the changes in the government, at that time, in *England*, especially at the revolution: for there, it is manifest, as well as elsewhere, he was not without adversaries; and those not the least powerful and dangerous. Likewise the difficulties, consequent on a vast expense, was another obstacle in his way to further good service, and his wonted liberality; in which it is well known his great generosity, in settling and encouraging the colony, had, in a particular manner, involved him, to the great reduction of his private estate, so liberally, and most evidently spent for a more public and general benefit; but, it is to be regretted, that the ingratitude of some people is too liable to misconstrue, slight, or undervalue, the kindest beneficence, though, in its consequences, to themselves very considerable, while they think any more may be had. Besides, the embarrassment of his private

See his letter to the Assembly, anno 1710.

Some of William Penn's obstacles to further beneficence, &c.

* It may be noted, that the great expense and trouble, which the province cost William Penn, and for which himself never received an equivalent, have, since his death, been amply rewarded to his family, or heirs, by a very great increase of the income from thence, to his children and posterity.

private affairs, in which, during the latter part of 1718. his time, an ungrateful agent is said to have involved him, was another great disappointment, and heavy incumbrance, with which he had to struggle; and which rendered the preserving of the province, for his posterity, still more difficult; but, in some of these cases, his great interest among his friends, the *Quakers*, in *England* and *Ireland*, is said to have been of singular service to him.

As to what few small irregularities and deficiencies, really existed in the government, or management of the province, unmagnified by his adversaries, or mistaken friends, which, at any time, wanted proper redress, or assistance, they were principally owing to his absence from it; which, it is certain, was very much against his mind, and chiefly occasioned by the necessity of his circumstances, the unsettledness of the government in *England*, together with the attempts of his enemies, and his great beneficence to his province, with his small and discouraging returns from thence.

His absence mostly the cause of what was really amiss in the province.

From these and similar considerations, it will be easy to perceive the nature of some of his difficulties, and the obstructions to such further public service, as might have been desired, in a person of his disposition, rank and station; which may account for part, at least, of the exceptionable conduct of some of his Deputy Governors; for whose office it was no easy matter to procure proper, and, in every respect, suitable persons; as appears in the resignation of *Thomas Lloyd*; and, in his more than once, even, offering to the Assembly themselves the choice of naming the Deputy Governor, or his Representative, during his absence! a very remarkable condescension! which Governors, though so much blamed, and doubtless,

Suitable deputy Governors not easily to be had, &c.

1718. less some of them justly, in some things; yet, in such a limited sphere, as they acted in, they were not so much unjustifiable, in their general conduct, as a partial view of their administration might suggest; which, in the main, there is great reason to apprehend, would either not have been prudent, safe, or possible, for the Proprietary, in his then present circumstances, to have contravened, in such manner, as some seem to have expected he ought to have done; for the very maintaining, and immediate preservation of the government, and consequently of the privileges of the province itself, at that time, undoubtedly depended more on much of the same conduct, which these seem to have judged so exceptionable, on the part of the Proprietary, or of his Deputy Governors, than they appear to have apprehended: instead of which, such a change of the government, as would then most probably have been effected, either by a resumption, or disposal, of it, to the crown, (which, in consequence of the attempts of his and its enemies, at home, and also of the opposition and liberties, used in the province, against his long sinking interest there, appeared likely to ensue) would, beyond all controversy, have been of much greater importance, and of such fatal effect to what was contended for, in the province, or the extension of its excellent privileges, in the manner desired, and that, even, to the discontented party in it, in some respects, as certainly ought to silence every attempt of detraction, and the narrowness of party spirit, against such exalted and true merit, and the general good conduct of the Proprietary; whose wise counsels, and worthy actions, so far transcended and overbalanced every little failing, and human weakness, that could possibly be alledged against him, even, by an enemy; from which no mortal man, on earth, is, at all times, entirely free: these, in such

Their conduct in the administration not so blamable as some imagined.

The Proprietor's conduct above the power of envy and detraction, &c.

such a case, should not be retained long in our minds; but the virtues, and excellent services, of such illustrious and worthy persons ought to be had in everlasting remembrance: services, which, being immortal here on earth, crown their agents with deathless praise, and eternal felicity; and place them beyond the power of envy and detraction; where, besides that serenity of mind, which arises from the sense of a life well spent, their companion in this mortal state of existence, they also enjoy that glorious eternity, in the happy mansions above, which *Cicero*, in his treatise, entitled, *Somnium Scipionis*, declares to be the portion of all true and genuine *Patriots*: “A certain place, in heaven (says he) is assigned to all, who preserve, or assist their country, or increase her glory; where they are to enjoy an eternity of happiness. For nothing is more acceptable to that God of Gods, who governs the system of the world, and directs all human occurrences, than those councils and assemblies of men, that, being united by social laws, from thence are termed states; of these the *governors* and *preservers*, having proceeded from thence, do thither again return.”*

CHAPTER

VOL. II.

[15]

* “Omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cælo definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruuntur; nihil enim est illi principi Deo, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, quod quidem in terra fiat, acceptius quàm concilia cætusque hominum jure sociati, quæ civitates appellantur; harum rectores & conservatores hinc profecti, huc revertuntur.”

Cic. Somnium Scipionis.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How William Penn left his estate and property at his decease.—Part of his last will.—State of his agreement with Queen Anne, for the sale of the government, &c.—Jonathan Dickinson.—Governor and Assembly's conduct, on hearing of the Proprietor's decease.—Names of the Members of Assembly.—The late Proprietor's eldest son, William, claims the government, &c.—But afterwards, John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, the younger branch of the family, became the sole Proprietors, &c.—Conduct of the Governor and Assembly, respecting said claim.—The Indians of Pennsylvania attacked by some foreign Indians.—Proceedings of the Governor and Assembly.—William Trent.—Vincent Caldwell.—William Baldwin.—Governor Keith, with the Assembly's consent, establishes a court of chancery, &c.—Names of the masters in chancery.—The Governor endeavours to prevent ill consequences among the Indians.—Account of a treaty held by Sir William Keith, with the Indians at Connestogo, in Pennsylvania, in 1721.

1718. **T**HE late Proprietary left his estate, in England and Ireland, amounting to the yearly value of £. 1500 sterling, and upwards, to William Penn, his eldest surviving son and heir, by *Guilielma Maria*, his first wife, and to the issue of that

How William Penn left his estate, &c.

that marriage; which, at the time of making his last will, in 1712, besides his said son *William Penn*, and his daughter *Lætitia*, appears to have consisted of three grand children, *Gulielma Maria*, *Springett* and *William*, the children of his son *William*. He could, therefore, make no provision, out of the said estate, for the payment of his debts, which were very considerable; nor for his widow, and his offspring by her; which are mentioned, in his last will, to be, *John*, *Thomas*, *Margaret*, *Richard*, and *Dennis*, all minors.

It is observable that his estate in *Europe*, about this time, was esteemed of more value, than all his property in *America*, especially under its then present incumbrance (the mortgage of 1708 not being yet entirely discharged*) and as he left it by his last will and testament, made on the sixth of April, 1712; wherein both the province, and the government of it, are left and devised in the following manner, viz.

“ My eldest son being well provided for by a settlement of his mother’s, and my father’s estate, I give and devise the rest of my estate, in manner following. The government of my province of *Pensilvania* and territories thereunto belonging, and powers relating thereunto, I give and devise to the most honourable, the earl of *Oxford*, and earl *Mortimer*, and to *William*, earl *Powlett*, so called, and their heirs, upon trust, to dispose thereof to the Queen, or any other person, to the best advantage they can, to be applied, in such manner as I shall hereafter direct. I give and devise to my dear wife, *Hannah Penn*, and her father *Thomas Callowhill*, and to my good friends, *Margaret Lowther*, my dear sister, and to *Gilbert Heathcote*,

Part of the
Proprie-
tor’s last
will, &c.

* At, or soon after the Proprietary’s decease, the only surviving, or, at least, active mortgagees, appear to have been, Henry Gouldney, Joshua Gee, John Woods, Thomas Oade, and John Field.

1718. *Heathcote*, physician, *Samuel Waldenfield*, *John Field*, and *Henry Gouldney*, all living in *England*, and to my friends, *Samuel Carpenter*, *Richard Hill*, *Isaac Norris*, *Samuel Preston*, and *James Logan*, living in, or near *Pensilvania*,* and to their heirs, all my lands, tenements and hereditaments, whatsoever rents, and other profits, situate, lying and being in *Pensilvania*, and the territories thereunto belonging, or elsewhere in *America*, upon trust, that they shall sell, and dispose of, so much thereof, as shall be sufficient to pay all my just debts, and from and after payment thereof, shall convey to each of the three children of my son, *William Penn*, *Gulielma Maria*, *Springett* and *William*, respectively, and to their respective heirs, 10,000 acres of land, in some proper and beneficial place, to be set out by my trustees aforesaid. All the rest of my lands and hereditaments whatsoever, situate, lying, or being in *America*, I will, that my said trustees shall convey to and amongst my children, which I have by my present wife, in such proportion, and for such estates as my said wife shall think fit; but before such conveyance shall be made to my children, I will, that my said trustees shall convey to my daughter *Aubrey*,† whom I omitted to name before, 10,000 acres of my said lands, in such places, as my said trustees shall think fit. All my personal estate, in *Pensilvania*, and elsewhere, and arrears of rent due there, I give to my said dear wife, whom I make my sole executrix, for the equal benefit of her, and her children.‡”

William

* About the same time, the four following trustees, named in his *will*, were likewise deceased, *viz.* *Margaret Lowther*, *Samuel Waldenfield*, *Gilbert Heathcote*, and *Samuel Carpenter*.

† *Lætitia*.

‡ In a codicil to his *will*, in his own hand writing, it is further expressed, as follows, *viz.*

“ Postscript, in my own hand, as a further testimony of my love to my dear wife, I, of my own mind, give unto her, out of the rents of *America*,

William Penn, prior to, or about the time of, ^{1718.} making his last will, had offered the government of *Pennsylvania* for sale to *Queen Anne*; to whom afterwards an agreement was actually made, for disposing of the same, for £. 12,000; of which sum, on the 9th of September, 1712, or soon after, he received one thousand pounds, in part of payment. But after this, and before a surrender of the said government was effected, he was, by sickness, rendered incapable of executing the same; so that the government, at the time of his decease, still remained to be vested in the aforesaid earls, in trust, by virtue of his will, and as therein abovementioned is expressed: but it appears, that upon his eldest son, and heir at law, *William Penn's* claiming the government of the province, after his father's death, and upon the question arising, whether, what was, as aforesaid, devised to the said earls, to be sold, should, as, at present circumstanced, be accounted part of the real, or personal, estate of the testator, *William Penn*, (the latter, by the will, being the property of the widow) the earls, therefore, declined to act, in their trust, or assign over the same, without the decree of the court of *chancery*, for their indemnity; which decree, the lords, commissioners, of the treasury declared, was absolutely necessary, with an effectual conveyance to the King, before the residue of the said £. 12,000 could be paid to the executrix *Hannah Penn*.*

He had agreed to dispose of the government to *Queen Anne*, &c.

The Trustees for the government decline to act, &c.

The

America, viz. *Pennsylvania*, three hundred pounds a year, for her natural life; and for her care and charge over my children, in their education; of which she knows my mind; as also, that I desire they may settle, at least, in good part, in *America*, where I leave them so good an interest, to be for their inheritance from generation to generation; which the Lord preserve and prosper, amen."

* In the bill, afterwards presented in *chancery*, on this occasion, besides what is therein mentioned, respecting other matters, and the mortgage of 1708; whereby *William Penn* conveyed all, or the greatest part, of his said estate, in *America*, to *Henry Gouldney*, of *London*, to *Joshua Gee*,

1718.

The news of the long expected death of the Proprietary appears not to have reached *Pennsylvania*, till after the election, and first sitting of the Assembly, in October, 1718; of which Assembly *Jonathan Dickinson* was chosen Speaker;*

to

Gee, Silvanus Grove, John Woods, of the same place, and to *Thomas Gallowhill, Thomas Oade, and Jeffery Pennel* of *Bristol*, and *John Field* of *London* and *Thomas Cuppage* of *Lambstown*, in *Ireland*, and their heirs, by way of mortgage, for £. 6,600, it is more particularly represented, or exhibited:

First, That the late *William Penn*'s eldest son, or heir at law, claimed the government of *Pennsylvania*, after his father's decease.

Second, That before *William Penn* made his last will, he had proposed and offered his powers of government, and government, of the province and territories to be sold and surrendered to *Queen Anne*; and about the time of his making his said will, such proposal was referred to the consideration of the Commissioners for trade and plantations, and the then Attorney General; upon whose report thereon to the Queen, she resolved to accept a surrender and conveyance thereof, from *William Penn*, and to pay him £. 12,000, for the same, within the space of four years, from the date of such surrender and conveyance; to which he consented. In the mean time, while the Attorney General was preparing the proper deeds and instruments, for this purpose, the Queen agreed to advance to *William Penn* £. 1,000, in part of the said £. 12,000, which sum of £. 1,000, by a warrant, under the Queen's sign manual, bearing date, at her court, at *Windfor Castle*, the 9th day of September, 1712, ordering the then Lord High Treasurer to pay the same to *William Penn*, he actually soon after received; but before the surrender was perfected he was taken ill, and became incapable of executing it.

Third, As to what was devised, in the said will, to the three earls, it is represented, in the above mentioned bill, That they were trustees therein, only for the widow *Hannab Penn*, the executrix, and residuary legatee, of *William Penn*, the testator's personal estate; the agreement, aforesaid, between the Queen and *William Penn*, for sale of the government, for £. 12,000, by the Queen's directing the payment of £. 1,000, part thereof, to *William Penn*, and his receiving the same, in pursuance of said direction, being, in part executed, on both sides, whereby all that was agreed to be sold, and the money raised by such sale, are made to be a part of, and to fall into, the personal estate of the said testator, *William Penn*, in respect to these different claims.

Fourth, And, that, upon the question, whether, what was, as aforesaid, devised to the said earls, to be sold, should be accounted part of the real, or personal estate of the testator *William Penn*, the said earls declined to act, in their trust, or to assign over the same, without the decree of the court of *chancery*, for their indemnity; which decree, the lords, commissioners, of the treasury insisted was absolutely necessary, with an effectual conveyance to the King, before the residue of the said £. 12,000 could be paid to the executrix, *Hannab Penn*, &c."

* *Jonathan Dickinson* came from *Jamaica*, with his wife and family, in the latter part of the year 1696. He was, with other passengers, on

to whom Governor *Keith*, in his speech to the House, on his being presented to him, for his approbation, thus expressed himself. 1718.

“ *Mr. Speaker,*

“ The modesty and candour of your deportment, for many years, in public business, has, at this time, in the two most eminent stations, justly determined the choice both of the city and country, in general, and this flourishing city, in particular, upon you, sir. The Governor's address to the Speaker

“ And, from this beginning, I promise myself, that, by your prudent example and conduct, they will, at last, be persuaded heartily to unite, in all such matters as plainly tend to the honour and advantage of the province,” &c.

But when the melancholy account arrived, though it was provided by a law of the province, that, on the death of the Proprietary, the Lieutenant Governor, for the time being, should continue the government, as usual, till further order, from the King, or from the heirs of the said Proprietary, or Governor in Chief, yet Sir *William Keith* immediately thereupon, not only consulted the Council, who were unanimously of opinion, that his continuing the administration of the government, in all its parts, was both warranted and directed by the said law, but he also laid the minute of the Council thereon, before the Assembly, at their next meeting, in the 10th mo. requesting The Governor's conduct on the news of the Proprietor's death.

on board the same vessel, in their passage to *Pennsylvania*, shipwrecked in the gulf of *Florida*; and being driven on shore, suffered in a very extraordinary manner, among the *Indians*, in that part of *America*; of which there is extant a particular printed account, entitled, “ *God's protecting providence man's surest help and defence,*” &c. written by himself. He was one of the people called *Quakers*, a merchant of considerable fortune, and possessed a large estate, in *Philadelphia*, where he lived after his arrival aforesaid. He was entrusted with a great share of the administration of justice, in *Pennsylvania*, being both the Speaker of the Assembly, and Chief Justice of the province. He bore a generally good character, was universally much beloved, and died in the year 1722.

1718. ing their sentiments on the same. The House, after mentioning their deep sorrow at the Proprietary's death, highly approved of both the Council's advice, and the Governor's conduct, in the affair, and heartily thanked him for his care of the public welfare.*

The heir at law, William Penn, junr. claims the government, &c.

It was before hinted, that notwithstanding the plain terms of the late Proprietary's last will, his eldest son, then living, or heir at law, *William Penn*, junior, after his father's decease, laid claim to the government of the province; which claim was continued by his eldest son *Springett*, after the death of his father *William Penn*, the younger; who is said to have died at *Liege*, about the year 1720.

1719. The conduct of Governor *Keith*, and the provincial Assembly, respecting this claim, appears by the speech of the former to the House, in the 3d mo. 1719, with their answer, as follows, viz.

“ *Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and*
“ *Gentlemen of the Assembly,*

The Governor's speech to the Assembly, on the occasion.

“ According to my promise, I have called you together, in order to acquaint you, that I lately received a commission from the honourable *William Penn*, Esq. as our Governor in Chief, with instructions to publish his accession to the government, by advice of the Council, in the most solemn manner;

* The names of all the Members of this Assembly were,

For Philadelphia county.

Robert Jones,
Edward Farmar,
Richard Hill,
William Fishbourn,
Clement Plumsted,
Morris Morris,
Jonathan Dickinson, *Spkr.*
Matthias Holston.

Chester county.

David Lloyd,
Richard Hayes,
Nathaniel Newlin,
John Wright,
James Gibbons,
Henry Lewis,
William Lewis,
Henry Oburn.

Bucks county.

William Biles,
Thomas Stevenson,
Jeremiah Langhorne,
John Sotcher,
Joseph Bond,
William Paxton,
Joseph Kirkbride,
John Swift.

City of Philadelphia,

Israel Pemberton, Isaac Norris.

manner; which said commission and instructions, with the minute of Council thereupon, I have ordered to be laid before you. 1719.

“ Since that I have seen the probate of the late Proprietary’s last will and testament, in the hands of Mr. Secretary *Logan*, whereby the powers of government, over this province, seem to be devised in trust, after a peculiar manner; and I am told these differences are not likely to be speedily adjusted.

“ Gentlemen, my duty to the crown unquestionably obliges me, while in this station, at all times, to use my utmost diligence, in preserving the good order and peace of the government, and to keep the King’s subjects of this colony, firm in their allegiance, and dutiful obedience, to his most excellent Majesty, and our Sovereign Lord King *George*; to the end, therefore, that this may be done, with the greatest cheerfulness and unanimity, and likewise, that all due respect might be paid to *Mr. Penn*, and every other branch of the late Proprietary’s family, I must desire that you will assist me with your opinions and advice; which, I doubt not, will have the same weight with all parties concerned in *Britain*, as you may be assured, it will ever have with me.

“ I have received a message from the *Indian* Chiefs of *Conestogoe*, by a letter to Mr. Secretary *Logan*; which informs us, that our *Indian* hunters had been attacked, near the head of *Potowmack* river, by a considerable body of southern *Indians*, come out to war with the *Five Nations*, and the *Indian* settlements of *Susquehanna*. They have killed several of our people, and alarmed them all; so that the careful attention and vigilance of this government was never more called upon than at this juncture; and much will depend upon your

1719. unanimous and speedy resolutions to support the administration, in all its parts."

To this the Assembly returned the following answer, *viz.*

The Assembly's
answer to
the Governor's
speech.

" *To the honourable WILLIAM KEITH, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.*

" The address of the representatives of the freemen of the said province, in Assembly met, in answer to his speech of the seventh instant.

" *May it please the Governor,*

" The memory of the honourable *William Penn*, our late Proprietary and Governor in Chief, being dear to us, we cannot but have a just and due regard to his family, and should account it our happiness to be governed by a branch thereof, under the most auspicious reign of our royal Sovereign, King *George*.

" And since the Governor has been pleased to shew so great a regard to the advice of the representative body of the freemen of this province, as to consult them, in a matter, which so highly concerns them, we must acknowledge is a great condescension, and an additional instance of his known affection to this colony, with kind inclinations to preserve the public peace and weal of this government.

" The contents of those instruments and writings, which the Governor was pleased to lay before this House, brought us under a very deep concern, how to assist him with advice, suitable to the present emergency; for we find the first part of the Proprietary's *will* seems to vest a trust in the noble lords, there named, in order to accomplish the treaty of surrender of this government to the crown, which was begun by our late Proprietary.

" And

“ And though that trust may occasion various opinions in law and equity, yet that does not so much affect us, as the want of ascertaining the terms, which we have been always given to expect would accompany the surrender, in favour of the people called *Quakers*, who embarked with the said Proprietary, in the laudable design of this considerable addition of the *British* empire; and, therefore, think it our duty, at this juncture, to claim those rights and favours, which have been promised us. 1719.

“ The Governor well knows that the present administration of this government, since the Proprietary's decease, is supported by a law, confirmed by her late Majesty, *Queen Anne*; and by virtue thereof, is to continue till further order from the King, or the heirs of the said late Proprietary and Governor; and notwithstanding the great regard, the Governor has to the commission, sent him by the said Proprietary's heir at law, yet since that heir seems not, by the aforesaid *will*, invested with the powers of government; but the devise thereof, made to the said *Lords*, being allowed by his own council to be good; and since it doth not appear that commission is attended with the necessary requisites, directed by acts of parliament, for qualifications of persons concerned in such stations, and security of plantation-trade, we conceive it will contribute to the peace of this government, and be safe for the Governor, that he, for the present, forbear to publish the said commission; and hope there will be no just occasion given, if the Governor should wave superseding the powers given him by the said heir at law, until he receive the pleasure of the said trustees, or has the Lord Chancellor's decree, for his direction; the rather, because we understand that an amicable suit is depending in *chancery* betwixt the executrix, and heir at law, in order to settle both their claims to this government.

1719. vernment. We heartily join with the Governor in his good resolutions, to preserve the good order and peace of the government, and loyalty of his Majesty's subjects, in this colony.

“ As touching the attack lately made upon our neighbouring *Indians*, we hope the Governor hath already taken proper measures in that affair, towards quieting their minds, and will use his utmost endeavours to prevent such incursions upon them, for the future, by due representations to the neighbouring governments, and persuasions to our *Indians*, not to give further provocations, but that they will fall in with more peaceable inclinations; as the same will contribute to their ease and safety, and obtain the friendship and protection of this government; and this House gives the Governor assurance, that the necessary charges thereof shall be provided for; and that it is their full purpose, to support the administration, to the best of their power.

“ *Signed by order of the House,*

“ JONATHAN DICKINSON, *Speaker.*”

The government was afterwards settled in favour of the younger branch of the family, &c.

Whether it was in consequence of the above mentioned *amicable suit*, which was then depending in *chancery*, between the heir at law, and the executrix, *Hannah Penn*, or otherwise, the affair of the government appears to have been afterwards settled in favour of the younger branch of the family: the different parties, in the mean time, mutually agreeing to unite in the necessary appointments and management of the government of the province, till the said suit, dispute, or agreement, should be determined, or decided: so that not only the province itself, which, by virtue of the late Proprietary's last *will*, was vested in his widow, and other trustees, for the use of her children by him, but also the government of it, afterwards descended

descended to *John, Thomas and Richard Penn*, 1719. the surviving sons of the younger branch of the family, thenceforward the Proprietaries.

In October, 1719, *William Trent** being chosen Speaker of the new Assembly, the Governor presented them with the royal assent to, and perpetual confirmation of, a very important law to the province, which had been passed by him, in May, 1718, entitled, “*An act for the advancement of justice, and more certain administration thereof.*”

A very important law confirmed.

The success of which, he assured them, was chiefly owing to the perfect harmony and good correspondence, that had hitherto subsisted between him and the representatives of the people. To whom the House in reply, expressed their lasting obligations to the Governor, for his extraordinary diligence, in so speedily getting the royal approbation to the said law, for his care and services, on other occasions, and his affection for the inhabitants of the province.

In the spring of the year 1720, Sir *William Keith*, 1720. in a message to the Assembly, then sitting, after mentioning some other things, made the following proposal, viz,

“Upon some representations, that have been made to me, that a *court of equity, or chancery*, was very much wanted, in this government, I thought proper to consult the opinions of gentlemen learned in the law, and others of good judgment; who all agree, that neither we, or the representative body of any of his Majesty's colonies, are invested with sufficient powers to erect such

Governor Keith proposes to establish a court of chancery.

* *William Trent*, after this, was Chief Justice of *New Jersey*, and had been Speaker of the Assembly of that province.

Trenton, upon *Delaware*, on the *Jersey* shore, about 30 miles above *Philadelphia*, took its name from him; he being a considerable trader there, when the place was first laid out for a town. He was esteemed as a gentleman of respectable character; and died in December, 1724.

1720. such a court, or that the office of *Chancellor* can be lawfully executed by any person whatsoever, except him, who, by virtue of the great seal of *England*, may be understood to act as the King's representative, in the place; but the opinion of your House, of what may be with safety done, for your country's service, in this case, shall principally direct my conduct."

To which
the Assembly
agree.

The Assembly agreed to the necessity of such a court; only, in their address thereupon, they requested, that such Members of the Council, as had heard the same cause, in any inferior court, might be exempted from being assistants in the said court. Hence, from the encouragement, given him by the Council and Assembly, Governor *Keith* soon afterwards established a *court of chancery*, in *Pennsylvania*, by the following proclamation, viz.

The Governor's
proclamation
for a
court of
chancery.

" By Sir *William Keith*, Esq. Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and the counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, upon *Delaware*,

" A PROCLAMATION:

" Whereas complaint has been made, That *courts of chancery*, or *equity*, though absolutely necessary, in the administration of justice, for mitigating, in some cases, the rigour of the laws, whose judgments are tied down to fixed and unalterable rules, and for opening a way to the right and equity of a cause, for which the law cannot, in all cases, make a sufficient provision, have, notwithstanding, been too seldom regularly held, in this province, in such manner as the aggrieved subjects

Note. On the 10th of March, 1720, died *Vincent Caldwell*, of *Marlborough*, in *Chester* county, an eminent and highly esteemed preacher among the *Quakers*: he came to *Pennsylvania* in 1699, and retained a good character till his death.

In the next following year, died *William Baldwin*, of *Bucks* county, an eminent preacher in the same religious society, and in great esteem both among them and others.

subjects might obtain the relief, which by such courts ought to be granted. And whereas, the representatives of the freemen of this province, taking the same into consideration, did, at their last meeting in Assembly, request me, that I would, with the assistance of the Council, open and hold such a court of equity, for this province: to the end, therefore, that his Majesty's good subjects may no longer labour under these inconveniencies, which are now complained of, I have thought fit, by and with the advice of the Council, hereby to publish and declare, that with their assistance, I propose (God willing) to open and hold a *court of chancery, or equity*, for the province of *Pennsylvania*, at the court house of *Philadelphia*, on Thursday, the 25th day of this instant, August; from which date the said court will be, and remain, always open, for the relief of the subject, to hear and determine all such matters, arising within this province aforesaid, as are regularly cognizable before any *court of chancery*, according to the laws and constitution of that part of *Great Britain*, called *England*; and his Majesty's Judges of his supreme courts, and all other, whom it may concern, are required to take notice hereof, and to govern themselves accordingly.

“ Given at *Philadelphia*, the tenth day of August, in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, *George*, King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, defender of the faith, annoque Domini 1720.

“ WILLIAM KEITH.”

Of

Note. In the chancellorship of Sir *William Keith*, the following persons appear to have been masters in chancery, and mostly Members of the Council, viz.

James

1721.

Of the Assembly, which was elected in October, this year, Isaac Norris was Speaker; and the usual good harmony appears to have continued between the different branches of the Legislature.

Disagree-
ment a-
mong the
Indians, &c.

It has already been observable, from what passed between the Governor and the Assembly, in the beginning of the year 1719, that the disagreement which happened about that time, between the southern *Indians*, and those of *Pennsylvania* and more northward, appeared to demand the attention of the government, to prevent further ill consequences; accordingly, in the year 1721, as the dispute still continued, and seemed to increase between them, further endeavours and suitable means were used for that salutary purpose.

Governor
Keith goes
to Virginia,
and holds a
treaty with
the Indians,
&c.

The Governor, in the spring, made a journey into *Virginia*, on this occasion; and also held a treaty, in *Pennsylvania*, with the *Indians* of different nations, after his return: of which the following is an extract, from the printed account of it, published at that time, in *Philadelphia*, entitled, “The particulars of an Indian treaty, at *Conestogoe*, between his Excellency Sir *William Keith*, Bart. Governor of *Pennsylvania*, and the deputies of the *Five Nations*,” &c. whereby appears the method of managing these people at that time, *viz.*

Extract
from the
account of
the treaty.

“The *Indian* village of *Conestogoe* (says the account) lies about seventy miles distant, almost directly west of the city; and the land thereabouts being exceeding rich, it is now surrounded with divers fine plantations, or farms; where they raise quantities

James Logan, Jonathan Dickinson, Samuel Preston, Richard Hill, Anthony Palmer, William Trent, Thomas Masters, Robert Ashton, William Ashton, John French, Andrew Hamilton, Henry Brooke, William Fishbourne, Thomas Graeme, and Evan Owen.

Note. This court of chancery, afterwards in Governor Gordon's time, came to be considered as so great a nuisance, that it was, therefore, there entirely laid aside.

quantities of wheat, barley, flax and hemp, without the help of any dung. 1721.

“ The company, who attended the Governor, consisted of between seventy and eighty horsemen; many of them well armed, &c.

“ And, at his return from *Conestogoe*, he was waited upon, at the upper ferry of *Sculkil* river, by the Mayor and Aldermen of this city, with about two hundred horse, &c.

“ On the 5th of July, the Governor arrived at *Conestogoe*, about noon; and in the evening, went to captain *Civility*'s cabbin; where four deputies of the *Five Nations*, and a few more of their people, came to see the Governor; who spoke to them by an interpreter, to the following purpose, *viz.*

Governor
Keith's
treaty with
the Indians
at Conestogoe.

“ That this being the first time that the Five Nations had thought fit to send any of their Chiefs to visit him, he had come a great way from home to bid them welcome; that he hoped to be better acquainted, and hold a further discourse, with them, before he left the place.

“ They answered, That they were come a long way, on purpose to see the Governor, and to speak with him; that they had heard much of him, and would have come here before now; but that the faults, or mistakes, committed by some of their young men, had made them ashamed to shew their faces; but now, that they had seen the Governor's face, they were well satisfied with their journey, whether any thing else was done, or not.

“ The Governor told them, That to-morrow morning he designed to speak a few words to his brothers and children, the *Indians* of *Conestogoe*, and their friends, upon *Susquehanna*; and desired that the deputies of the *Five Nations* might be present, in *council*, to hear what is said to them.

“ *Conestogoe*,

1721.

“ *Conestogoe, July 6th, 1721.*

“ Present, Sir William Keith, Bart. Governor.
 Richard Hill, Jonathan Dickinson,
 Caleb Pusey, & Col. John French, Esqrs.
 James Logan, Esquire, Secretary.

“ The Governor spoke to the *Conestogoe Indians*, as follows, viz.

“ *My Brothers and Children,*

“ So soon as you sent me word, that your near friends and relations, the Chiefs of the *Five Nations*, were come to visit you, I made haste, and am come to see both you and them, and to assure all the *Indians* of the continuance of my love to them.

“ Your old acquaintance and true friend, the great *William Penn*, was a wise man; and, therefore, he did not approve of wars, among the *Indians*, whom he loved; because it wasted and destroyed their people; but always recommended peace to the *Indians*, as the surest way to make them rich and strong, by increasing their numbers.

“ Some of you can very well remember since *William Penn*, and his friends, came first to settle among you, in this country: it is but a few years, and like as yesterday, to an old man; nevertheless, by following that great man's peaceable counsels, this government is now become wealthy and powerful, in great numbers of people. And though many of our inhabitants are not accustomed to war, and dislike the practice of men killing one another; yet you cannot but know, I am able to bring several thousands into the field, well armed, to defend both your people and ours, from being hurt by any enemy, that durst attempt to invade us.

“ However, we do not forget that *William Penn* often told us, that the experience of old age, which is true wisdom, advises peace; and I say to you,

you, that the wisest man is also the bravest man : 1721.
for he safely depends on his wisdom ; and there
is no true courage without it.

“ I have so great a love for you, my dear brothers, who live under the protection of this government, that I cannot suffer you to be hurt, no more than I would my own children. I am but just now returned from *Virginia* ; where I wearied myself, in a long journey, both by land and water, only to make peace for you, my children, that you may safely hunt in the woods, without danger, from *Virginia*, and the many *Indian Nations*, that are at peace with that government. But the Governor of *Virginia* expects, that you will not hunt within the great mountains, on the other side of *Potowmack* river ; being a small tract of land, which he keeps for the *Virginia Indians*, to hunt in : and he promises that his *Indians* shall not come any more on this side *Potowmack*, or behind the great mountains this way, to disturb your hunting. And this is the condition I have made for you ; which I expect you will firmly keep, and not break it on any consideration whatsoever.

“ I desire that what I have now said to you may be interpreted to the Chiefs of the Five Nations present : for as you are a part of them, they are, in like manner, one with us, as you yourselves are ; and, therefore, our counsels must agree, and be made known to one another : for our hearts should be open, that we may perfectly see into one another's breasts. And that your friends may speak to me freely, tell them I am willing to forget the mistakes, which some of their young men were guilty of, amongst our people. I hope they will grow wiser with age, and hearken to the grave counsels of their old men ; whose valour we esteem, because they are wise ; but the rashness of their young men is altogether folly.”

“ At

1721. “ *At a council held at Conestogoe, July 7th, 1721.*

“ Present, Sir *William Keith*, Bart. Governor.

Richard Hill, Jonathan Dickinson,
Caleb Pusey, & Col. John French, Esquires.
James Logan, *Secretary*, with divers gentlemen.

Sinnekae's Nation. *Onondagoe's Nation.*

Ghesaont Tannawree
Awennoot, Skeetowafs.

Cayoogoe's Nation.

Sahoode

Tchehughque.

“ Smith, the *Ganawese Indian*, Interpreter from the *Mingoe* language to the *Delaware*.

“ John Cartlidge, Esquire, and Mr. James le Tort, Interpreters from the *Delaware* into English.

“ Ghesaont, in the name, and on the behalf of all the *Five Nations*, delivered himself, in speaking to the Governor, as follows :

“ They were glad to see the Governor, and his Council at this place ; for they had heard much of the Governor, in their towns, before they came from home ; and now they find him to be what they had then heard of him, *viz.* their friend and brother, and the same as if *William Penn* were still amongst them.

“ They assure the Governor and Council, that they had not forgot *William Penn's* treaties with them ; and that his advice to them was still fresh in their memories.

“ Though they cannot write, yet they retain every thing, said in their councils, with all the nations they treat with ; and preserve it as carefully in their memories, as if it was committed, in our method, to writing.

“ They complain, that our traders, carrying goods and liquors up *Susquehanna* river, sometimes
meet

meet with their young people, going out to war, and treat them unkindly, not only refusing to give them a dram of their liquor, but use them with ill language and call them dogs, &c. 1721.

“ They take this unkindly ; because dogs have no sense, or understanding : whereas they are men, and think that their brothers should not compare them to such creatures.

“ That some of our traders calling their young men by these names, the young men answered ; “ If they were dogs, they might act as such ; ” whereupon they seized a cag of liquor, and ran away with it.”

N. B. This seems to be told in their artful way, to excuse some small robberies, that had been committed by their young people.

“ Then laying down a belt of wampum upon the table, he proceeded and said,

“ That all their disorders arose from the use of rum, and strong spirits ; which took away their sense and memory ; that they had no such liquors among themselves ; but were hurt with what we furnished them ; and therefore desired that no more of that sort might be sent among them.

“ He produced a bundle of dressed skins and said,

“ That the *Five Nations* faithfully remember all their ancient treaties ; and now desire that the chain of friendship, between them and us, may be made so strong, as that none of the links can ever be broken.

“ Presents another bundle of raw skins, and observes,

“ That a chain may contract rust with lying, and become weaker ; wherefore, he desires it may

END

1721. now be so well cleaned, as to remain brighter and stronger, than ever it was before.

“ Presents another parcel of skins and says,

“ That, as, in the firmament, all clouds and darkness are removed from the face of the sun, so they desire that all the misunderstandings may be fully done away; so that when they, who are now here, shall be dead and gone, their whole people, with their children and posterity, may enjoy the clear sun-shine of friendship with us for ever; without any thing to interpose, or obscure it.

“ Presents another bundle of skins, and says,

“ That, looking upon the Governor, as if *William Penn* was present, they desire, that, in case any disorders should hereafter happen between their young people and ours, we would not be too hasty in resenting any such accident, until their council and ours can have some opportunity to treat amicably upon it; and so to adjust all matters, as that the friendship between us may still be inviolably preserved.

“ Presents a small parcel of dressed skins, and desires,

“ That we may now be together as one people; treating one another's children kindly and affectionately, on all occasions.

“ He proceeds and says,

“ That they consider themselves, in this treaty, as the full plenipotentiaries and representatives of the *Five Nations*; and they look upon the Governor, as the great King of *England*'s representative: and, therefore, they expect that every thing now stipulated will be made absolutely firm and good, on both sides.

“ Presents a bundle of bear skins, and says,

“ That

“ That having now made a firm league with us, as becomes our brothers, they complain that they get too little for their skins and furs, so as they cannot live by their hunting; they desire us, therefore, to take compassion on them, and contrive some way to help them, in that particular. 1721.

“ Presenting a few furs, he speaks only as from himself, to acquaint the Governor,

“ That the *Five Nations* having heard that the Governor of *Virginia* wanted to speak with them, he himself, with some of his company, intended to proceed to *Virginia*, but do not know the way, how to get safe thither.

“ On the 8th of July, the Governor and his Council, at the House of *John Cartlidge, Esq.* near *Conestogoe*, having advised upon, and prepared, a proper present, in return for that of the *Indians*, and in confirmation of his speech, according to custom, in such cases, which consisted of a quantity of strowd match-coats, gun powder, lead, biscuit, pipes and tobacco, adjourned to *Conestogoe* the place of treaty.”

“ At a Council, held at *Conestogoe*, July 8th, 1721. P. M.

“ Present, the same as before; with divers gentlemen attending the Governor, and the Chiefs of the *Five Nations*; being all seated in council, and the presents laid down before the *Indians*, the Governor spoke to them, by an interpreter, in these words:

“ *My Friends and Brothers,*

“ It is a great satisfaction to me, that I have this opportunity of speaking to the valiant and wise *Five Nations* of *Indians*, whom you tell me, you are fully empowered to represent.

“ I

1721.

“ I treat you, therefore, as if all these nations were here present ; and you are to understand, what I now say, to be agreeable to the mind of our great Monarch, *George*, the King of *England*, who bends his care to establish peace amongst all the mighty nations of *Europe* ; unto whom all the people, in these parts, are, as it were, but like one drop, out of a bucket, so that what is now transacted between us, must be laid up, as the words of the whole body of your people and our people, to be kept in perpetual remembrance.

“ I am also glad to find that you remember what *William Penn* formerly said to you. He was a great and a good man : his own people loved him ; he loved the *Indians*, and they also loved him. He was as their father ; he would never suffer them to be wronged ; neither would he let his people enter upon any lands, until he had first purchased them of the *Indians*. He was just, and therefore the *Indians* loved him.

“ Though he is now removed from us ; yet his children and people, following his example, will always take the same measures ; so that his and our posterity will be as a long chain, of which he was the first link ; and when one link ends, another succeeds, and then another ; being all firmly bound together in one strong chain, to endure for ever.

“ He formerly knit the chain of friendship with you, as the chief of all the *Indians*, in these parts ; and lest this chain should grow rusty, you now desire it may be scoured, and made strong, to bind us, as one people, together. We do assure you, it is, and has always been, bright on our side ; and so we will ever keep it.

“ As to your complaint of our traders, that they have treated some of your young men unkindly, I take that to be said only by way of excuse

1721.

cuse for the follies of your people, thereby endeavouring to persuade me, that they were provoked to do what you very well know they did; but, as I told our own *Indians*, two days ago, I am willing to pass by all these things; you may therefore be assured, that our people shall not offer any injury to yours; or, if I know that they do, they shall be severely punished for it. So you must, in like manner, strictly command your young men, that they do not offer any injury to ours. For when they pass through the utmost skirts of our inhabitants, where there are no people yet settled, but a few traders, they should be more careful of them, as having separated themselves from the body of their friends, purely to serve the *Indians* more commodiously with what they want.

“ Nevertheless, if any little disorders should, at any time, hereafter arise, we will endeavour that it shall not break, or weaken, the chain of friendship between us: to which end, if any of your people take offence, you must, in that case, apply to me, or to our chiefs. And when we have any cause to complain, we shall, as you desire, apply to your chiefs, by our friends, the *Conestogoe Indians*: but, on both sides, we must labour to prevent every thing of this kind, as much as we can.

“ You complain, that our traders come into the path of your young men, going out to war, and thereby occasion disorders among them; I will, therefore, my friends and brothers, speak very plainly to you, on this head.

“ Your young men come down *Susquebanna* river, and take their road through our *Indian* towns and settlements, and make a path between us and the people, against whom they go out to war. Now, you must know, that the path, this

1721. way, leads them only to the *Indians*, who are in alliance with the *English*; and first, to those, who are in a strict league of friendship with the Governor of *Virginia*; just as these, our friends and children, who are settled among us, are in league with me and our people.

“ You cannot therefore make war upon the *Indians*, in league with *Virginia*, without weakening the chain with the *English*: for, as we would not suffer these, our friends and brothers of *Conestogoe*, and upon the river, to be hurt by any persons, without considering it, as done to ourselves; so the Governor of *Virginia* looks upon the injuries, done to his Indian brothers and friends, as if they were done to himself. And you very well know, that, though you are five different nations, yet you are but one people; so as that any wrong, done to one nation, is received as an injury, done you all.

“ In the same manner, and much more so, it is with the *English*, who are all united under one great King, who has more people, in that one town, where he lives, than all the *Indians*, in *North America*, put together.

“ You are in league with *New York*, as your ancient friends, and nearest neighbours; and you are in league with us, by treaties, often repeated, and by a chain, which you have now brightened. As, therefore, all the *English* are but one people, you are actually in league with all the *English* governments, and must equally preserve the peace with all, as with one government.

“ You pleased me very much, when you told me, that you were going to treat with the Governor of *Virginia*. Your nations formerly entered into a very firm league with that government; and, if you have suffered that chain to grow rusty, it is time

time to scour it; and the Five Nations have done 1721.
very wisely to send you there for that purpose.

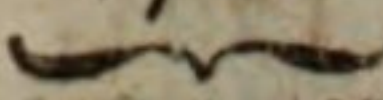
“ I do assure you, the Governor of *Virginia* is a great and a good man; he loves the *Indians*, as his children, and so protects and defends them; for he is very strong, having many thousand Christian warriors under his command; whereby he is able to assist all those, who are in any league of friendship with him. Hasten, therefore, my friends, to brighten and strengthen the chain with that great man; for he desires it, and will receive you kindly. He is my great and good friend; I have been lately with him; and since you say, you are strangers, I will give you a letter to him, to inform him of what we have done, and of the good design of your visit to him, and this country.

“ My friends and brothers, I told you two days ago, that we must open our breasts to each other; I shall, therefore, like your true friend, open mine yet further to you, for your good.

“ You see that the *English*, from a very small people, at first, in these parts, are, by peace amongst themselves, become a very great people amongst you, far exceeding the number of all the *Indians*, we know of.

“ But while we are at peace, the *Indians* continue to make war upon one another; and destroy each other, as if they intended that none of their people should be left alive; by which means you are, from a great people, become a very small people; and yet you will go on to destroy yourselves,

“ The *Indians* of the south, though they speak a different language, yet they are the same people, and inhabit the same land, with those of the north. We, therefore, cannot but wonder, how you, that are a wise people, should take delight in putting

1721.  ting an end to your race: the *English*, being your true friends, labour to prevent this. We would have you strong, as a part of ourselves: for, as our strength is your strength, so we would have yours to be as our own.

“ I have persuaded all my brethren, in these parts, to consider what is for their good; and not to go out any more to war; but your young men, as they come this way, endeavour to force them, And because they incline to follow the counsels of peace, and the good advice of their true friends, your people use them ill, and often prevail with them to go out, to their own destruction. Thus it was, that their town of *Conestogoe* lost their good King, not long ago; and thus many have been lost. Their young children are left without parents; their wives without husbands; the old men, contrary to the course of nature, mourn the death of their young; the people decay, and grow weak; we lose our dear friends, and are afflicted. And this is chiefly owing to your young men.

“ Surely, you cannot propose to get either riches, or possessions, by going thus out to war: for when you kill a deer, you have the flesh to eat, and the skin to sell; but when you return from war, you bring nothing home, but the scalp of a dead man; who, perhaps, was husband to a kind wife, and father to tender children, who never wronged you; though, by losing him, you have robbed them of their help and protection; and, at the same time, got nothing by it.

“ If I were not your friend, I would not take the trouble of saying all these things to you; which I desire may be fully related to all your people, when you return home, that they may consider in time, what is for their own good. And, after this, if any will be so madly deaf and blind, as neither to hear nor see the danger before them, but will

go out to destroy, and be destroyed, for nothing, I must desire that such foolish young men would take another path, and not pass this way, amongst our people, whose eyes I have opened; and they have wisely hearkened to my advice. So that I must tell you plainly, as I am their best friend, and this government is their protector, and as a father to them, we will not suffer them any more to go out, as they have done, to their destruction. I say again, we will not suffer it; for we have the counsel of wisdom amongst us, and know what is for their good. For though they are weak, yet they are our brethren; we will therefore take care of them, that they be not misled with ill counsel. You mourn when you lose a brother; we mourn, when any of them are lost; to prevent which they shall not be suffered to go out, as they have done, to be destroyed by war.

“ My good friends and brothers, I give you the same counsel, and earnestly desire that you will follow it, since it will make you a happy people. I give you this advice, because I am your true friend; but I much fear you hearken to others, who never were, and never will be, your friends.

“ You know very well, that the *French* have been your enemies, from the beginning; and though they made peace with you twenty-two years ago, yet, by subtle practices, they still endeavour to ensnare you. They use arts and tricks, and tell you lies, to deceive you; and if you would make use of your own eyes, and not be deluded by their jesuits and interpreters, you would see this yourselves: for you know they have no goods of any value, these several years past, except what has been sent to them from the *English* of *New York*, and that is now all over. They give fair speeches, instead of real services; and as, for many years, they attempted to destroy you in war, so they now endeavour

1721. endeavour to do it in peace; for when they persuade you to go out to war against others, it is only that you may be destroyed yourselves; which we, as your true friends, labour to prevent; because we would have your numbers increase, that you may grow strong, and that we may be all strengthened in friendship and peace together.

“As to what you have said of trade, I suppose the great distance, at which you live from us, has prevented all commerce between us and your people. We believe those, who go into the woods, and spend all their time upon it, endeavour to make the best bargains they can, for themselves; so, on your part, you must take care to make the best bargains you can with them. But we hope our traders do not exact; for we think that a strowd coat, or a pound of powder, is now sold for no more buck skins than formerly. Beaver, indeed, is not, of late, so much used in *Europe*; and, therefore, does not give so good a price; and we deal but very little in that commodity. But deer skins sell very well among us; and I shall always take care that the *Indians* be not wronged. But, except other measures be taken to regulate the *Indian* trade every where, the common method used in trade will still be followed; and every man must take care of himself; for thus I must do myself, when I buy any thing from our own people; if I do not give them their price, they will keep it; for we are a free people. But if you have any further proposals to make about these affairs, I am willing to hear and consider them; for it is my desire that the trade be well regulated to your content.

“I am sensible rum is very hurtful to the *Indians*; we have made laws, that none should be carried amongst them; or, if any is, that it should be staved, and thrown upon the ground; and the
Indians

Indians have been ordered to destroy all the rum, ^{1721.} that comes in their way, but they will not do it; they will have rum; and when we refuse it, they will travel to the neighbouring provinces and fetch it; their own women go to purchase it, and then sell it amongst their own people, at excessive rates. I would gladly make any laws to prevent this, that could be effectual; but the country is so wide, the woods are so dark and private, and so far out of my sight, if the *Indians* themselves do not prohibit their own people, there is no other way to prevent it; for my part, I shall readily join in any measures, that can be proposed, for so good a purpose.

“ I have now, my friends and brothers, said all, that I think can be of service, at this time, and I give you these things here laid before you, to confirm my words, *viz.* Five coats, twenty pounds of powder, forty pounds of lead, for each of the *Five Nations*; that is, twenty-five coats, one hundred pounds of powder, and two hundred pounds of lead, in the whole; which I desire may be delivered to them, with these words, in my name, and on behalf of this province: I shall be glad to see often some of your chief men, sent in the name of all the rest; and desire you will come to *Philadelphia*, to visit our families, and our children born there, where we can provide better for you, and make you more welcome; for people always receive their friends best at their own houses. I heartily wish you well on your journey, and good success in it. And when you return home, I desire you will give my very kind love, and the love of all our people, to your kings, and to all their people.

“ Then the Governor rose from his chair; and when he had called *Ghesaont*, the speaker, to him, he

1721. he took a coronation medal of the king, and presented it to the *Indian* in these words :

“ That our children, when, we are dead, may not forget these things, but keep this treaty, between us, in perpetual remembrance, I here deliver to you a picture, in gold, bearing the image of my great master, the King of all the *English* : and when you return home, I charge you to deliver this piece into the hands of the first man, or greatest chief of all the *Five Nations*, whom you call *Kannygooah*, to be laid up and kept, as a token to our children’s children ; that an entire and lasting friendship is now established for ever, between the *English*, in this country, and the great *Five Nations*.”

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Governor's concern to promote the country's benefit, &c.—Anthony Morris.—Proceedings in consequence of the barbarous murder of an Indian.—Names of some Members of Council about this time.—Divers useful laws passed, with some of their titles, &c.—Increase of law suits.—Names of the Members of Assembly.—Regulation of bread and flour.—Paper currency scheme first introduced in 1722.—Advocated by the Governor, and favoured by the generality of the people; but disliked by some.—Sentiments of several gentlemen and merchants, relating to a paper currency, presented to the Assembly.—Answer to these sentiments, &c.—Governor Keith's judgment, on the same subject, in writing, to the Assembly.—Reply to the answer to the above sentiments, &c.

OF the Assembly, elected in October, 1721, ^{1721.} Jeremiah Langhorne was Speaker; to which Assembly, in the winter, the Governor, in his speech, having intimated the necessity of their united and diligent application to restore the planter's credit, without discouraging the merchant, by whose industry alone, says he, "*Their trade must be supported with a sufficient currency of cash,*" thus further expressed himself: "My mind is so fully bent upon doing this province some effectual service, that I have lately formed the design of a considerable

Governor Keith expresses his concern and scheme for the public good.

1721. able settlement amongst you, in order to manufacture and consume the grain; for which there is, at this time, no profitable market abroad; and although this project will doubtless, at first, prove very chargeable and expensive to me, yet, if it meets with your approbation, and the good will of the people, I am well assured it cannot fail of answering my purpose, to do a real service to the country, and every interest and concern of mine shall ever be built on that bottom," &c.

The house was highly pleased with the Governor's kind regard for the public good; "His zeal to restore the planter's credit, with his just care of the merchant, who, of late, with others equally, had laid under the greatest disadvantages of want of a sufficient currency of cash, as appeared to them, from the melancholy complaints of the people, declaring they would readily fall in with any scheme, that should appear to them conducive to a remedy." They gratefully acknowledged his patriotic design to manufacture and consume the grain of the country, and heartily thanked him for his good condescension, and repeated offers of advice and assistance, for the public utility.

Proceed-
ings re-
specting the
murder of
an Indian.

"In the spring of the year 1722, an *Indian* was barbarously killed, within the limits of the province, somewhere above *Conestogoe*. This murder was supposed to be perpetrated by one or two persons,

Anthony
Morris
obit.

Note. Anthony Morris of Philadelphia, died on the 24th of October, 1721. He came over among the settlers of *West Jersey*, about the year 1680, and fixed his residence at *Burlington* for several years. Afterwards he removed to *Philadelphia*; where he resided during the remainder of his life. He is said to have been of great service, among the first, or early, settlers, in divers respects, both in a public and private capacity; being a preacher among the *Quakers*, and a man of general good esteem till his death, for near forty years in the country, &c.

His son Anthony Morris appears to be a Member of Assembly, this same year; a person of good esteem, character and utility to his country, and in the religious society of the *Quakers*, of which he was esteemed a valuable and useful member till his death, in the year 1762.

1722.

persons, of the name of *Cartledge*. The Governor, having commissioned *James Logan*, and Col. *John French*, two of his Council, to go to *Cone-stogoe*, to enquire into the affair, after their return, at the request of the Assembly, laid their report of it before them. The House, in their address to the Governor thereon, expressed their utmost concern on this affair: they gratefully acknowledged, and highly commended the Governor's prudent conduct, and steady administration of justice; but more especially at that time, on an occasion of the greatest importance to the peace and safety of the government, by his empowering two gentlemen of his Council so able and prudent, on the present emergency; "Whose wise conduct (said they) is very conspicuous from their report laid before the House by the Governor;" "That, at the relation of the dismal circumstances, they were filled with horror and surprise, that, after so long continuance of the peace, first settled by the honourable Proprietary, *William Penn*, with the *Indians*, any breach should be now made by those, under the name of *Christians*, to the reproach of that name, and danger of the safety and peace, both of this province and others."

They earnestly requested the Governor to persist in his laudable endeavour, to bring the aggressors to condign punishment, with all possible speed, lest, by delay of justice, the *Indians* should be induced to withdraw their allegiance to the crown of *Great Britain*, and affection from this government, and be provoked to do themselves justice, in a manner, that might be of most dangerous consequence: "That he would advise with his Council, in making treaties with them; for, (said they) as they are some of the principal inhabitants of this government, we have no reason
to

1722. to doubt but they will be concerned for the good of the same.”*

They further pressed the maintaining the league of friendship, first made by their *worthy Proprietary*, as a thing of the greatest importance, that could possibly come before them; and therefore, they unanimously recommended the execution of strict justice, as the best and most effectual means for that end; the want of which, in the apprehension of that vindictive people, had produced sad and fatal consequences to other provinces; they likewise proposed to the Governor's consideration some particulars, to be immediately done, in the affair; and mentioned the repeated request of the *Indians*, that *strong liquors* should not be carried, nor sold, among them; with the petition of fundry inhabitants of the province, to the same import; which the laws hitherto made, in that case, had not been able to prevent; they, therefore, requested the advice and assistance of the Governor and Council therein, &c.

The Governor thanked them for the great satisfaction, which they expressed, with his conduct and administration; and declared, “That he had carefully endeavoured to follow the late *honourable Proprietary's steps* in such affairs; to keep the natives always in a lively and perfect remembrance of his love to them, and to build all their treaties of peace with them, upon the same principles and maxims of good policy, which he used and maintained when he was here himself.” He likewise assured the House, that he had, at that time, all the probability, which the nature of the case

* Among the Members of Council, about this time, appear to be,

Richard Hill,	Isaac Norris,
Samuel Preston,	Thomas Masters,
Anthony Palmer,	William Ashton,
Robert Ashton,	John French,
Andrew Hamilton, also Attorney General,	
James Logan, likewise Secretary.	

case would admit of, for settling matters again with the *Indian* nations, upon that just, firm and friendly foundation, which the House so earnestly desired and recommended to him. He acknowledged the insufficiency of the laws, to restrain people from carrying too great quantities of rum, and selling it among the *Indians*, thereby debauching and cheating them; which, he said, he had complained of to former Assemblies. 1722.

Great pains were taken, in this affair; an *Indian* messenger, *Satcheecho*, was dispatched to the *Five Nations*; the suspected persons were committed to prison; and the Governor, with two of the Council, met and treated with the *Five Nations*, at *Albany*, respecting it; besides the presents, which were made to the *Indians*. The *Five Nations* desired that the *Cartlidges* should not suffer death; and the affair was, at length, amicably settled.

Among the wholesome laws, passed by the Governor, this year, for improving the produce of the province, meliorating its *staple commodities*, then in bad credit, at foreign markets, and for other purposes; there was one also entitled, “An act to prohibit the selling of rum, and other strong liquors, to the *Indians*, and to prevent abuses, that may happen thereby.”* Several wholesome laws passed this year, &c.

Joseph Growdon was Speaker of the Assembly elected in October, 1722.† The Governor, in his

* Among these laws were: 1st, “An act for encouraging the making good beer, and for the consumption of grain in the province.” 2d, “An act to prevent the exportation of flour, not merchantable.” 3d, “An act for laying a duty on *Negroes* imported into this province.” 4th, “An act for encouraging and raising of hemp, in this province,” &c.

† The names of the Members of this Assembly were,

For *Philadelphia county*.

Samuel Carpenter, senr.
Francis Rawle,

Bucks county.

Joseph Growdon,
William Paxton,

Chester county.

Samuel Lewis, junr.
Joseph Pennock,

For

1722. his speech to this Assembly, on the first of the 11th month, having passed an encomium on the great harmony and unanimity, which had subsisted between him and the former Assemblies, with the means, and happy consequences thereof, took occasion thence to recommend to them, among other things, that they would direct their enquiry, to find out, from whence it proceeded, that such a multiplicity of expensive and vexatious law suits had been, of late, commenced in their courts, beyond what was usual, or known, in the province before.*

The Governor's remarks on the increase of law suits, &c.

“ Because, says he, if this sudden change should appear to arise only from the increase of trade and riches, it is well; but, if from any other cause whatsoever, I conceive it will be attended with dangerous consequences to the body of the people, whom you represent; and, in such case, it will require your immediate application.” He also observed, “ That, for the sake of the whole country, who must live by the product and manufacture of grain, it was absolutely necessary, that the making good bread and flour, be

For Philadelphia county,

Matthias Holston,
John Swift,
Robert Jones,
Anthony Morris,
Hugh Evans,
Benjamin Vining,

Bucks county.

William Biles,
John Sotcher,
Joseph Kirkbride, junr.
George Clough,
Thomas Canby,
Thomas Yardly,

Chester county.

David Lewis,
William Pile,
Daniel Williamson,
Israel Taylor,
Nathaniel Newlin,
Isaac Taylor.

City of Philadelphia.

John Kearsley, Charles Read.

* Respecting the article of law suits, which the Governor mentioned to the House, the committee of grievances, on the same month, made their report, as follows, taken from the printed votes:

“ We have examined the Sheriff's docquet, and find that,

From September, 1715, to September, 1716, the number of writs are	431,
From September, 1717, to September, 1718, - - -	588,
From September, 1719, to September, 1720, - - -	627,
From September, 1721, to September, 1722, - - -	847,
From September to December, 1722, - - -	259.

be so regulated, as to recover their lost credit, in the market, in the *West Indies*; upon which their whole traffic entirely depended:" He concluded with expressions of the warmest zeal, to join with them in whatever means should be found necessary to ease the present burdens of the people, and to relieve their complaints. 1722.

The House, in answer, as kindly acknowledged the Governor's care, and constant inclinations, for the good and prosperity of the province; and, joining with them, in sentiment, respecting the necessary things, which he recommended to their consideration, they undertook the regulation and improvement of some of the law proceedings; especially respecting attachments; and several laws were passed, for these purposes.

About this time the province appears to have been under great difficulties, respecting the decay, or discouragement, of its trade and credit, and the want of a sufficient medium, or currency, of cash; for the relief of which divers proposals were made; and among the rest, that of *paper money*, or *paper bills of credit*, was now introduced; which occasioned considerable debate, between men of different sentiments, respecting it. Scheme for a paper currency first introduced into Pennsylvania, 11th mo. 1722.

The Governor was a strong advocate for a *paper currency*, and took great pains to promote it; with whom appeared to join the generality of the people. But divers, who were considered as persons of most property, judgment and weight, in the province, did not like the scheme: but then their dislike was chiefly founded on the difficulty of preserving the said *currency* from *depreciation*; which they saw, had, in general, occasioned mischievous and fraudulent consequences, in other provinces; together with some modes, which were proposed, of issuing and conducting the same; so that their opposition was not so much entirely against Of the introduction of the paper currency.

1722. against a *paper credit*, properly guarded and conducted, as against fraud, or those modes of forming and managing it, which had been so ruinous in other places, or such as they judged would be equally pernicious, if adopted here. Hence, in the 11th month this year, when the scheme was under consideration of the Assembly, *Isaac Norris* and *James Logan*, in the name and behalf of several gentlemen and merchants, presented the following sentiments thereon, in writing, to the House, *viz.*

“ *To the honourable House of Representatives of the province of Pennsylvania.**

Sentiments
of divers
gentlemen
and mer-
chants, &c.

“ Being admitted, upon our address to the House, presented yesterday, to exhibit any further sentiments, in relation to a *paper credit*, now vigorously pressed to be established by law; we accordingly

* A few days after this the following paper was laid before the House, in answer to these *sentiments of several gentlemen and merchants*, in relation to a *paper currency*, *viz.*

“ To the honourable House of *Representatives* of the province of *Pennsylvania*, in Assembly met, the 24th of January, 1722-23.

“ *May it please the honourable House,*

“ We beg leave to lay before you some considerations, in answer to the *sentiments of several gentlemen and merchants*, in relation to a *paper credit* which they were admitted to present, the tenth instant.

“ *First*, It is but just to concede to their notion, that this province is dependent on, and derives all its powers from, *Great Britain*; and that it is the highest wisdom, in our Legislature, to direct themselves by the same prudent measures, as far as our circumstances with theirs may agree.

“ *Secondly*, It is by them alledged, that when the nation was distressed by war, and their coin generally debased, yet the parliament would not advance their currency, on any account; and that they renewed it, at the same fineness, to pass at the former rates; and they have unalterably kept to the same. And further, that *twelve hundred thousand pounds* made good to private persons all their loss, received from exchanging their clipped and debased coin, for the new milled money, delivered at par: to which we say, that we know (by what authority soever it was, or is done) that since, if not then, the coin hath been (particularly the gold) often raised and lowered; and that the *twelve hundred thousand pounds* did make good all the loss in the kingdom, for the debased coin, is an assertion, we doubt not, but there are many, in *Great Britain* (and some here) can inform those gentlemen otherwise.

“ *Thirdly,*

accordingly offer the following heads, which may 1722.
be supported by solid arguments, when the House
thinks fit to require them.

“ *First*, That as this province derives all its powers from, and is wholly dependent on the kingdom of *Great Britain*, it will be the highest wisdom in our Legislature, upon all exigencies, to direct themselves by the same prudent and just measures, which the parliaments of that kingdom have always pursued, in the like cases; in whom nothing has been more conspicuous than a most strict care, that no subject should lose by the coin, or public credit, of the kingdom. Of the institution of the paper currency.

VOL. II.

[20]

“ *Secondly*,

“ *Thirdly*, In concurrence with the sentiments of these gentlemen, in their third paragraph, we humbly recommend it to our legislators, that our bills be established upon so just a foundation, that, while in being, they may still continue of the same value with real money, according to the rates, at which they are first issued.

“ *Fourthly*, If those bills cannot be procured, where they are to be issued, for a less pledge or security, than gold, or silver, would be, the easy terms of refunding them will not lessen their value; for the stamp of authority has its own laws, as unalterable in themselves, as those of interest, or increase, are in usury; and which, such as are versed in those affairs, as carefully consider.

“ *Fifthly*, The schemes most commonly talked of, for lending out sums to be discharged by annual payments, equal to, or not much exceeding the interest, for a certain number of years, without paying any principal, are not partial and unjust, nor destructive to the public credit; for the pledge secured is more than an equivalent to the sum received, and the interest given is not inconsiderable, even, of the lowest rated schemes. To whom are they partial and unjust, since no method is proposed, or contrived, for any particular man, or men, excluding others? The benefit is to be general; and though the necessities of the poor chiefly call for the succour, yet it is more within the compass of the rich to be thereby favoured; because they have plenty of pledges: let them not, then, complain of partiality, or injustice, through their own negligence. How are such schemes destructive to public credit, since the public is capable of yielding so much relief to a necessitous people, without hurting itself? No, the design is laudable, and greatly becomes our generous patriots. But, perhaps, there are some, that are partial to themselves, although they seem to speak in defence of the public, affording us room to guess, they would have no money borrowed, but of private persons, and begrudge the borrowers of the public, the gain of near *thirty pounds*, according to the exquisite calculation of those gentlemen; because they themselves know, that such an advantage is not equal to the sweet incomes of usury.

“ *Sixthly*, All such projects are not exceedingly weak and unjust; for what man, had he money by him to lend, would refuse it, on sufficient security?

1722.

“ *Secondly*, That as, when the nation was most grievously distressed, in the time of a dangerous and expensive war, by a general debasing of their current coin, the parliament would hearken to no proposal (though many were made) for relieving the state, by raising the new minted money to a higher value; but, under the vastest difficulties, renewed it, at the same weight and fineness, to pass at the former rates; which they have unalterably kept to. And further, by the sum of *twelve hundred thousand pounds*, made good to private persons all the loss of exchanging their clipped and debased coin, for the new milled money, which was delivered out at a par to them: so the like justice and prudence requires, that no further alteration, than what the parliament has made here, should, on any terms, be admitted, in the value of our gold and silver, but that it still continue, as it now passes.

“ *Thirdly*,

security? And if he does lend it, on such security, where can we suppose the lender's loss to be? Or, wherein is the paper credit lessened, when there is more than its value to support it? Their supposing it to be lent to all, is an amusement; and the tribunal is easy to be erected, to find out persons of worth, from those that are worth nothing; and the poor (who, they say, have as little merit as any) may have a chance to get it by labour, by the employers having something to pay both to their own, and the poor man's advantage: and thus a way may easily be found for dispensing the public favours. We presume to add, to these great and rich men (and, therefore, according to their account, sober and industrious men) that we humbly hope a medium, in business, will run us from the loose way of luxury, idleness and folly, which often happens from being *non-plus'd* in a regular dispatch of affairs, for want of pay, when due.

“ *Seventhly*, This currency, or paper money, will not fall in value, if raised on a good foundation, as recommended in the third article. The rise of silver is alone owing to the avarice of the possessor; who, knowing there is no other currency (and that too, at this time, extremely scarce) they have imposed on the necessities of the people, by advancing it near *two shillings* in the pound; but it is not improbable that our bills, being always capable of purchasing our country produce, their value being equal to silver, will again reduce it to its stated worth, and be as satisfactory to the kind lender, who, (according to them) relieved the borrower in distress, or sold him land, or goods, at the real value, at the time of lending, or sale.

“ *Eighthly*, Those do not deceive themselves, who, because gold and silver may be had, at *New York*, or other places, in exchange for their
paper

1722.

“ *Thirdly*, That, as the parliament, as often as they found it necessary to issue bills of credit, called exchequer bills, or notes, took the utmost care, to keep them equal in value with silver, by giving the *Bank of England*, when they fell into any discount, vast sums of money, to receive those bills, as their own, and to exchange them with ready cash, on the demand of the bearer: so it appears absolutely necessary, that if bills of credit be raised here, due care should be taken (since we can have no such *banks*, in this province, as are in *Europe*, whose rules are to pay down ready money for their bills, upon demand) to establish them on so just a foundation, that, while in being, they may still continue of the same value with real money, according to the rates, at which they are at first issued.

“ *Fourthly*,

paper money, suppose that the one is as good as the other. It is a received maxim, that the value of any thing is in proportion to what it will purchase: now paper bills will, at this time, and would formerly, purchase, in *New York*, goods cheaper than cash will, at *Philadelphia*; and it is obvious that some other reason may have occasioned the rise of silver and gold there; since we have here advanced, at least, *six pence* per ounce, on silver, beyond the rate ascertained by act of parliament, without any such motive as paper money.

“ These being premised on the general heads, what next follows is in answer to their three conclusive points.

1st. “ If the whole sum struck be so small, that it will not answer the absolute and immediate necessities of those who have real securities to give, it will not (we humbly conceive) be sufficient to pass from hand to hand, for a currency.

2d. “ That which is a benefit to any person, for five years, will be a further benefit, for a longer term; and, perhaps, the fixing it to a short date may abridge some persons from effecting what they might accomplish for their own good, and the country’s advantage, in more time. The difficulty of exchanging worn out bills for new, in an office to be erected for that purpose, we doubt not the care and ability of this Assembly to surmount, and render practicable. And, if our laws can continue in force no longer than five years, without the royal approbation, yet we presume a law so beneficial to the subject here, so concurrent to the practice of neighbouring colonies, and no ways repugnant to the laws of *England*, will, when duly represented at home, not want that approbation.

3d. “ We confide in this, that the wisdom of this *honourable House* needs no direction, in the care to be taken, of sinking the *paper currency* in

1722.

“*Fourthly*, That, if those bills be issued on any easier terms to the receiver, than gold, or silver would be, if it were to be paid, or lent, out of the treasury, by how much easier these terms are, by so much, at least, will the bills fall in value; for credit has its own laws, as unalterable in themselves, as those of motion, or gravity, are, in nature, and which, such, as are versed in these affairs in *Europe*, as carefully consider.

“*Fifthly*, That the schemes most commonly talked of, for lending out sums, to be discharged by annual payments, equal to, or not much exceeding, the interest, for a certain number of years, without paying any principal, are partial and unjust, and would be destructive to public credit; because the consideration given is not an equivalent to the sum received.

“ For

in course, and in a just manner; for we esteem you (and not these gentlemen petitioners) to be proper judges of the methods hitherto discoursed of.

“ These observations, may it please this honourable House, on the sentiments of those gentlemen, we humbly offer to your consideration, and pray your favourable construction.”

Soon after the preceding answer was delivered to the House, it was followed by a paper, in reply to it, containing, *the further sentiments of the gentlemen, merchants, &c. on the same subject, viz.*

“ *To the honourable House of Representatives of the province of Pennsylvania.*

Further
sentiments,
&c.

“ In the important affair of a *paper credit*, now under the consideration of your House, it is to be hoped that all honest men, amongst us, think of it from the same principles, and with the same inclinations, *viz.* to promote the true interest and reputation of this colony.

“ Upon these views alone we lately took the liberty to petition your honourable House, to be heard upon the subject, and the next day exhibited our sentiments, in writing, drawn into several heads, and built, on such solid foundations of truth, that we are well assured they cannot be shaken.

“ Yet, as the opinions of men are extremely various, and great pains have, of late, been taken here, to instil and strengthen popular errors, on that subject; we find divers of these drawn up, in a paper, lately presented to, and received by, the House; containing, as it says, some considerations, in answer to our said sentiments, but truly consisting, in a great measure, of those common mistakes, which have unhappily occasioned such differences in opinion, even, among the well-meaning, who, we presume, all aim at the public good.

“ The

“ For instance, should *one hundred pounds* be lent out, to be discharged, by the payment only of eight pounds annually, for sixteen years; were such an annuity to be bought, according to the known rules for purchasing estates, it would here be worth no more than *seventy pounds sixteen shillings and three pence*, in ready money; nor is an annuity for nine pounds ten shillings per annum, for twelve years, worth more than *seventy-one pounds twelve shillings*. In either of these cases, the borrower, could he discharge debts of that value with it, though he were to pay the annuity in gold and silver, would gain near thirty pounds by the loan, but no other person would feel the least advantage by it; now, if no man would let out his own money on these terms, none ought to desire it so of the public; the credit of which is of vastly greater importance, than any private persons; because a failure, in that, affects the fortune of every individual, in his money, the medium of his commerce and dealing.

“ *Sixthly,*

“ The more clearly, therefore, to manifest these popular deceptions, to prevent the unhappy consequence, that may attend their obtaining further place, and more effectually to establish the truth and certainty of those heads, we before presented, we humbly beg leave to offer the following observations, on the several parts of that paper, with some *further sentiments*, on the whole matter; which, we hope, will be interpreted according to their true intention, that is, to serve the public, in which we are all jointly embarked.

“ The design of what we then exhibited to the House (as is evident from all the parts of it) was not to oppose a *paper credit*, but to shew the danger of ill concerted schemes, and to point out, as far as was then proper, what we conceived to be the most effectual measures, for answering all the just ends, proposed by such a credit.

“ In the three first articles was represented how much it became us, as a government depending on Britain, to copy after the great examples, their parliaments have set before us; particularly these two cases of keeping our coin constantly to the same rates, and supporting the credit of our bills, when issued, equivalent to such money.

“ To the first of these, those, concerned in that paper, are obliged to concede.

“ To the second they answer with a gross mistake, and an unbecom-
~~ing~~ trifling: for, it is positively true, that since the great reformation
 of

1722.

“ *Sixthly*, That all such projects are either exceedingly weak, or unjust; for the paper money is to be lent either to all, who shall desire it, on a tender of the security, proposed, or to some only: if to all (as it is natural for all men to desire what they may gain by) it will be impracticable to strike enough, to answer all demands; or, if it were struck, it would, because of its quantity, become of little, or no value; if to a few only, what tribunal can be erected, to judge and distinguish, who of the King’s subjects, are to be admitted to the favour, and who to be rejected? If the poor only are to be the objects, they have not security to give, or, if they had, perhaps they have as little merit as any: commonly people become wealthy by sobriety and industry, the most useful qualifications in a commonwealth, and poor by luxury, idleness and folly. What rules then can be found, for dispensing the public favours?

“ *Seventhly*,

of the *English* coin, in 1696, there has not been the least alteration in it; *guineas*, which, till lately, never were a legal tender, were limited that year, that they should not, under a penalty, be received at more than *twenty-two shillings* each. But no sooner did *silver*, the true lawful money of the kingdom, circulate freely again, which, by the great diligence of the several mints, they did, within six months after; but the people refused to take them at more than *twenty-one shillings and six pence*, as formerly; at which rate they have constantly continued, till the mines of *America*, especially of *Brazil*, producing much more gold than silver, in value, the first has fallen, in *Europe*; on which, to prevent the exportation of silver, they are, by a late act of parliament, reduced to *twenty-one shillings*; and at that rate, at length, made a legal tender, that is, lawful money of the nation. If foreign gold, or silver, be meant, which are only merchandize, and rise, as the demand is for exportation, these are entirely out of the question. To the other part, where they alledge, that the *twelve hundred thousand pounds* did not make good all the loss, in the kingdom; we say, that our informations are as good as any can pretend to, in this province.

“ That sum, on large trials, made in the exchequer, of the monies received the year before, was judged sufficient to make good the whole loss; and all, who brought in their money, within the time limited, had it made good to them. It is true, some persons disaffected to the government, and others fond of their hoards, forbore, and suffered accordingly: but the great care of the parliament, and therefore the truth of our assertion, are from hence equally clear.

“ *The*

“ *Seventhly*, That by these schemes, the more the currency, or paper money falls in value (by which word *falling*, is meant the *rising* of gold, silver, English goods, and all other commodities, in nominal value, which is the certain proof of the other's falling) the greater is the borrower's advantage; for the more easily will he pay his annuity; so that he may happen, by virtue of the act, to discharge, with the value of twenty pounds, a debt of *one hundred*, due to the man, who, perhaps, kindly lent him the money, to relieve him in distress, or honestly sold him his land, or goods, at their real value, at the time of lending, or sale.

1722.

“ *Eighthly*,

“ The third head, which is the greatest point, of keeping up our bills to the same value with real money, according to the rates, at which they are, at first, issued, is also conceded, in general terms; and the just foundation mentioned, is all that is contended for.

“ But what is advanced in the fourth and fifth articles, is the grand popular error, that endangers a disappointment, in that great end proposed. For no stamp of authority can give an intrinsic worth, where it really is not. Experience, whose instructions, even the weakest may reach, will shew us, that bills of credit have been issued in no place on this continent, where they have not, sooner or later, sunk below the value, at which they were, at first, made; and yet they all had as powerful a stamp of authority as any we can give. We are now upon putting in practice a project of the same kind; it is, therefore, the more highly incumbent on us, prudently and advisedly to consider, in time, by what means the inconveniencies, that have attended others, in theirs, may be prevented in our undertaking.

“ The first remark, we offered, on this head, was from this foundation, that, if the public, by their terms of issuing their bills, shew they estimate them at less than they would real money; all mankind, but especially the trader, whose business it is to exchange his commodity for its real value, will naturally be taught to do the same. The greatness of the security makes no manner of difference, unless the borrower of the bills should be obliged, for *one hundred pounds* lent in them, to repay, upon that security, the like sum of gold or silver, and not in the same specie; for should one, upon lending any rarity, of no great intrinsic value, take a security of *one hundred pounds*, to have it returned, this would not add to the real worth of the thing lent, though it shewed, the lender resolved to have it restored to him; or, if a man should assign the bond of another person of dubious credit, for *one hundred pounds* due, for the consideration of *fifty pounds* only, to be paid by the assignee, in twelve months, to the assignor; and for the payment of the *fifty pounds*, should take a mortgage, or security, worth *five hundred pounds*, this indeed will make the debt of *fifty* more certainly good, but will not add one farthing to the value of the bond assigned. in the same manner, if a person be possessed of *fifty pounds*, in bills of credit, though there be a security

1722.

“ *Eighthly*, That all those deceive themselves, who, because gold and silver may be had at New York, or other places, in exchange for their paper money, suppose that the one, therefore, is as good as the other, unless the silver can be had at *eight shillings* per ounce, or the gold at *six shillings* per penny weight, at *New York*, as they were rated at the first striking of their bills; but when their silver brings from *nine* to *ten* shillings per ounce, and their light pistoles pass at twenty-eight shillings, or higher, then bills are truly so much fallen in value, as the others are advanced. So, in *Carolina*, silver is to be purchased for their bills, but it is at *thirty shillings* per ounce, though they were struck, as is said, at *seven shillings* only!

“ These being premised as general heads, what next follows, is to point out what are conceived to be the only means of supporting the credit of such a currency, if issued.

“ *First,*

security of *one or two hundred pounds* given for them, in the office, by the borrower, at the first taking of them out, should these bills, for the same reasons, that have prevailed in *Boston*, and other places, in the like case, sink in their value, and become worth less than *forty pounds*, while in that person's hands, the security given will, in no manner, compensate that loss to the possessor; for neither he, nor even the public, can have any satisfaction from the security; because, if the borrower returns the bills again, when due from him, though they should not then be worth *twenty pounds* of that coin, by which they were first rated, his security will be entirely discharged by the payment. This is most evident and plain to any man of reason, who will make use of it: but persons over-run with the common notions, depending on the applause of such as are ready prepared to give it to every thing, favouring their own opinions, may think it sufficient for answering the most certain truth, barely to deny it, and confide in the numbers, that are to support their assertions; which we conceive has been the only motive to those persons, who drew up, or presented the paper, now under consideration; but the unhandsome reflections, that are cast, in that part of it, shall, for the present, be waved, and referred to the close of this, as a more proper place.

“ In our fifth and sixth heads we asserted, that such schemes as were then commonly talked of, were partial, weak and unjust; as they were intended to make grants very beneficial to the first borrower, but injurious to the others: that all would equally covet the same advantage; but that, from the nature of the thing, all could not possibly partake of it; unless the quantity of the bills were so vast as to render them of little, or

“ *First*, That the whole sum struck be but small, and just sufficient to pass from hand to hand, for a currency. 1722.

“ *Secondly*, That it be not continued for any longer time; for the paper will wear out, and it will not be so easy to exchange it for new, as some have imagined; which, it is much to be doubted, will be found impracticable: besides, the sooner it is to expire, the more easily will people be satisfied to take it. But further, our laws can continue in force no longer than five years, without the royal approbation.

“ *Thirdly*, That care be taken to force the sinking of it in course, and in a just manner, by measures, that shall render it absolutely necessary for the public to have it sunk; which, it is conceived,

VOL. II.

[21]

none

or no value. The truth of all which is so clear and plain, that it would be little less than a mockery to human reason, to offer arguments for supporting what, if understood, is self-evident. But this is now entirely out of time, the wisdom of the Assembly having admitted none of those schemes, there guarded against, and it will be difficult to find a reason for offering that part of the paper to the House, after all the votes, that have been passed on this affair, unless it be to prepare, with an extreme modesty, for another push, to overset all that has hitherto been voted.

“ Their whole answer to the seventh head is grounded on another great mistake, in the cause of the rise of silver amongst us; which is truly thus: In the year 1709, when the act of parliament, for reducing our coin, took place, silver was our common currency; gold being then but rarely seen; but as it was judged necessary (seeing the act was silent in it) to make that also, as well as silver, pass current by weight, at some determinate rate; and being, at that time, worth four pounds an ounce, or four shillings per penny weight, in *Britain*, it was advanced in the same proportion with silver, (*viz.* one third) to *five shillings and four pence* per penny weight; but because this sum could not be so divided by twenty-four, as to render it practicable to reckon single grains by farthings, without a fraction, it was, by common consent, raised to *five shillings and six pence*, that a grain might be accounted at *two pence three farthings*. This seeming small difference, with the advance given in *England* by the *East India* company for *Spanish silver*, wrought so great a change in our currency, that our payments were mostly made in gold, *New York and Britain* gradually exhausting our silver; insomuch that, even, nine or ten years ago, five per cent. advance was given, in gold, in exchange for *Spanish silver*; though afterwards, upon a greater importation of the latter, this difference, for some time, abated; but gold having still further fallen in value,

1722.

none of the methods hitherto discoursed of will effect. These heads, may it please the House, are what we have, at present, humbly to offer to your consideration, on this subject."

A few days after this was presented to the House, the Governor also delivered them his sentiments, in writing, on the same subject, as follows:

" Mr. Speaker, and

" Gentlemen of the Assembly,

Governor
Keith's sen-
timents on
introducing
the paper
currency.

" I have, at your request, very carefully considered the resolutions of the House, upon your journals, relating to public credit; and also some things, which, I find, have been offered to you, upon the same subject.

" Credit may, no doubt, be compared to the mathematics, in so far as both sciences will admit of

value, in *Britain*, the disparity has again further increased; for accounting pieces of eight, only at *five shillings and four pence* per ounce, which is under a medium for their common price; and gold at *three pounds eighteen shillings*, which is near its present, or late value, in *England*; an ounce of *Spanish* silver is truly equivalent to *seven shillings and six pence*, in gold, at *five pounds ten shillings* per ounce, as we rate it. It is therefore, neither *avarice*, nor *sharping*, that has occasioned this advance, in the exchange of these two metals, but the essential difference, in their intrinsic value, at the market, to which they are carried; which is estimated by rules, that ever will prevail among competent reasoners on the basis of trade; though such, as go beyond their *last*, will meddle with matters out of their sphere, are incapable of comprehending them.

" But, from hence a sure rule may be taken, in relation to paper, that by so much as the value of public bills sink, by so much will gold and silver rise, in proportion to their intrinsic worth; as we find our silver has done, in proportion to our gold; and the constant standard, to measure this by, will be the exchange between the *English* colony, where they are made current, and *Great Britain*. From hence the loss on bills is to be estimated in all places, where they pass: the exchange in *New York*, before the bills fell, *viz.* in 1716, was *fifty per cent.* and in *Boston*, not long before; but since 1717, the year they uttered their last great quantity of bills, it arose to *sixty-five per cent.* and in *Boston*, it is now near *one hundred and fifty per cent.* as in *Carolina*, it is from *five to six cents* advance on *one hundred pounds sterling*.

" The answer to the eighth is of a piece with the rest, a presumptuous denial of a positive truth, that is in itself incontestible; for the language of the *New York* bill runs thus, *viz.* for a bill of *twenty shillings*; " This bill, of two ounces ten penny weight of plate, due from the colony of *New York* to the possessor thereof, shall be equal, in value, to *Seville pillar*, or *Mexico*

1722.

of deducing solid conclusions from self-evident and clear principles; and yet, by the subtilty of an artist, truth, or falsehood, in either of them, is often so wrapped up and involved, that it is lost unto, or misapprehended by the plainest, and, generally speaking, much the honestest part of mankind.

“ But the common necessity, and general interest of the whole body of the people, being a subject of importance, on which we ought to speak plainly, and act freely, I shall, without any preamble, or disguise whatever, communicate my thoughts to you, in the simplest, and most intelligible manner, that I can.

“ *First*, If it be true, that the riches and prosperity of this province chiefly depend on the manufacture of provisions, and the exchanging of that manufacture, with other things, to advantage, it will also be true, that whatever increases the one, and, at the same time, encourages the other, will justly

Mexico plate,” &c. And yet that very bill shall, at this time, purchase very little more, (if any thing) in pieces of eight, than *two ounces*. It is, therefore, undeniably true, that such a bill is not equivalent to *two ounces and a half* of such plate; because, being fallen from its first intended value, it will not purchase so much: and it is really surprising how any men, in direct contradiction to common sense, can amuse themselves and others with such groundless notions. The price of goods at *New York*, whether cheaper or dearer, than at *Philadelphia*, is out of the question; unless it could be alledged, that a bill of *twenty shillings* will purchase as much of those goods, as can be bought with the real weight of *two ounces and a half* of *Spanish* silver; which the boldest assertor will scarce venture to affirm.

“ We further beg leave to observe, on their answer to the three last articles:

“ *First*, That to supply the want of a medium for commerce is the honest intention of the proposal for *bills of credit*, and not to discharge the debts of those who want means, from the public, to get clear of them.

“ *Secondly*, All bills, bonds, &c. on an equal security, are the more valued, the sooner they become due; and the sooner public bills are to sink, the greater will be their credit. It is true, that the longer the time is, the more easy it may seem to the first borrower; but, in the whole course of the bills, after their second payment, this will but diminish

1722. justly deserve the name of a public good ; and the majority of those, employed in such manufacture and exchange, have thereby a right to be considered as the body of the people, whom you represent.

“ *Secondly*, It is evident, that, where there is no public debt, and a real value, in lands, to be pledged, paper money may, if there is occasion for it, be struck to advantage, without any risk at all ; for though, perhaps, it may contribute to hurt some weak people, in the ill management of their private affairs, yet, while any unfrugal person is lost to the community, and is succeeded by one more industrious than he, the public cannot suffer by such a change.

“ *Thirdly*, If, in the case of a paper currency, among us, it should happen to follow (as it may be supposed it will) that silver and gold will be kept up for remittances to *Great Britain*, we shall then have no other means of dealing with one another, but the paper : should the quantity, therefore,

minish their credit. If *eight* years be preferable to *five*, because of the length of the time, the same argument may be urged for *sixteen* or *twenty*.

“ *Thirdly*, It is extremely mannerly (we grant) to leave it entirely to the Assembly, to consider the manner of sinking the bills ; but this complaisance, it is doubted, is more owing to an unconcernedness in that point, when, or whether ever, they sink, provided they are once obtained, than to any real modesty ; otherwise, it was certainly a breach of that, after the House had voted both the sum and the time, not to acquiesce in their wisdom, but to solicit an enlargement.

“ We pay as great a deference, may it please the House, to the legislative authority, as any others ; yet we well know their wisdom will influence them to lend constantly an open ear to all necessary hints from without doors, that may contribute any advantage to the important affairs, brought from time to time, under their consideration.

“ From hence it is, that we shall yet crave liberty to offer our further sentiments, not only in relation to a paper credit, but upon some other points, that nearly concern the prosperity of this colony.

“ Such bills, we find, have been issued in *America*, on two different foundations ; the one has been to raise a large sum immediately, on the credit of future taxes, duties, &c. by which they were to be regularly sunk in time ; the other to be lent out on securities, and to be sunk by the

fore, be less than is necessary to circulate our home trade, in its natural course, usurers and sharpers would have the same opportunity as they have now, to lie at catch for bargains, and make a monopoly of trade, by engrossing the current money into their hands. 1722.

“ *Fourthly*, The very essence and nature of credit, as well as the practice and experience of the greatest banks in *Europe*, directs all such bills to be issued at something less than the common interest, for that is, in effect, a premium by the public, to encourage their circulation: and whosoever is pleased to say, that the bank of *Amsterdam* loses credit, by lending money at *two per cent.* or the bank of *England*, by lending money at *four per cent.* shall scarce prevail with me to think the assertion worthy of any answer.

“ *Fifthly*, I am not of opinion with those gentlemen, who are pleased to alledge, that the value of silver, at *New York*, which, in the month of September last, was from *eight shillings and six pence*

the borrowers repaying them into the treasury. Those of *New York* and *South Carolina* were by the first method, and those of *New England* and *Rhode Island*, by the second.

“ In *Carolina* they were obliged, for the defence of their town and country, against some threatened invasions, to raise an immense sum, for so small a colony, vastly exceeding the occasions they had for a currency, especially since their *rice*, which foreigners come to carry away, will purchase most of the goods they want; and this sunk the credit of their bills to the low state they were depressed to. In *New York*, their first bills, raised by the same method, *viz.* by anticipating the duties, by which they were to be sunk again, kept up their credit; and, because of the certainty of their terminating, and the quantity being moderate, for a place of such large and extended commerce, they continued of equal value with their current silver, until the year 1717, when they issued another large sum, and for a longer term; upon which their credit immediately fell to a disparity with their real money.

“ Farther to the eastward, their bills being issued on loans only, by which method they cannot be called in, with so much certainty, they consequently fell more than one third below the value, at which they were first struck; and the same may be expected from the like measures to happen here; for seeing very few borrowers are found to discharge their mortgages to private persons, in time, and according to contract, it
will

1722. *pence to eight shillings and nine pence*, is occasioned by their paper; for, in this province, where there never has been any paper yet, from *five to ten per cent.* has, for several years, been given in exchange for silver. And as to their computation of gold, the gentlemen, perhaps, have not had occasion, of late, to be informed, that the heaviest *pistoles*, in *York*, go at no more than *twenty-eight shillings*, and smaller, or cut gold, at the common standard value, in that province; where, it is believed, the people could not possibly carry on half the quantity of their present trade and business, without the help of paper.

“ *Sixthly*, I must also take leave to differ, in opinion, with those, who, without enquiry, and by wholesale, are pleased to condemn all schemes of lending money, to be discharged by annual payments; for I truly think that method will not only suit the different circumstances and conveniency of the

will be expected that the public, to whom such loud cries are raised, for succour to the distressed, will rather be more indulgent, than rigorous, to their humble suppliants.

“ It will, therefore, be evident, that to keep up the credit of bills, the quantity must be moderate, and should be somewhat under a sufficiency for a circulating currency, that we may, as they do in *New York*, contrive means to supply ourselves with some quantities of cash, which is real treasure in a country, while bills are no more than borrowing from one another without adding one penny to the wealth or stock of the colony; and next, that a certainty of their being sunk in a reasonable time, will principally contribute to support that credit.

“ It was observed before, in the last article, presented by us, to the House, that such measures ought to be taken for this, as shall render it absolutely necessary for the public, that the bills shall be sunk regularly.

“ It is therefore, upon the whole, with all due submission, proposed to the consideration of the House, whether it may not be rather requisite to retrench the quantity, last voted, than to augment it, as some desire; considering that *ten pounds* of that currency will probably circulate more and faster than *twenty or thirty* of gold or silver; because the latter has a constant intrinsic value, while the other, more subject to change, and designed only for a medium of commerce, will be more briskly shifted from hand to hand, to answer that purpose? and whether the following methods of applying it may not render it more serviceable, *viz.* that, seeing the public is now, by the Treasurer's account, besides some other sums not yet settled, above *one thousand six hundred pounds* in debt,

the people best, but, in all respects, will prove the safest and most profitable, as well as equal; and my reasons for it, are these: 1722.

“ 1st. Whatever quantity be issued, if one fifth, sixth, or tenth part, of the sum, according to the time, for which it is to last, must necessarily come into office every year, it may be lent out again, at *five per cent.* for any time, within the term, to such persons as had no place, or opportunity, to come into the first loan: by which means all the frightful, odd things, mentioned in the gentlemen’s sixth observation, will presently vanish; for every man, in this case, according to his ability, may, if he thinks fit, share in that advantage; which the public most generously and prudently offers to the necessities of the people.

“ 2ndly, If so great a share of the whole comes in yearly to the office, in order to be lent out again, it will, in a great measure, prevent engrossing,
and

debt, and the support, for the ensuing year, is yet to be provided for, a sum of about *three thousand pounds*, to be paid out of the bills, to be sunk, by an excise, or such other method as the House shall best approve of, for returning that sum, in three, four or five years, as shall be judged most convenient.

“ That a sum, sufficient to finish the *prison and workhouse of Philadelphia*, be lent out of the bills of the city and county, to be returned into the treasury, by a yearly tax on the inhabitants, not exceeding one *penny per pound*, till the said sum be discharged; the present taxes of *three pence per pound* being too heavy, in these difficult times, for the public to bear.

“ That the rest be lent out, as is already proposed to the House, on good unquestionable securities, at the interest agreed on; but, for the better assuring their sinking, that all public monies, raised by any taxes, excise, or duties whatsoever, be paid into the respective treasuries only in that specie, to be there sunk; and the full value of such public monies be made good out of the sums, paid in by the borrowers, whether in coin, paper, or country produce, to answer the ends, for which the same was raised; by which means the bills must necessarily be sunk, and the payments be duly made by the borrowers, without any excuse or favour.

“ That, for the more effectual support of the credit of the bills, *sixpence in the pound* be allowed to the person, who pays them in, as public money, to be made good out of the interest, paid by the borrower.

“ These

1722. and help the circulation considerably; it will also give more frequent opportunity of discovering frauds, and gradually increase the public stock and revenue of the bank; and by that means it will demonstrably sink the original sum, within the time prefixed; that is to say, the paper, at the end of that term, will either be found in the office, or its value in cash, ready to pay what shall then happen, by accident, to be yet abroad.

“ *Seventhly*, If too great a security is demanded for the loan of public money, I think, it will, in a great measure, frustrate the design of relieving many of the middling, or most industrious, sort of the people; wherefore, it is my opinion, that
one

“ These measures, may it please the House, it is believed, will very much contribute to answer the just ends, proposed by the bills, with the least injury, or loss, to the receivers.

“ The reflections, in this last paper, as well as others, which have industriously been rendered popular, shall be answered, by shewing, from the state of the country, how destructive to its true interest that spirit is, to which too many appear to have resigned themselves, that those, who are sincerely well affected to the public, may, with a more distinguishing judgment, observe the measures, by which our common interest may be most effectually promoted; for which end, we beg leave to add the following remarks, *viz.*

“ That this small colony, consisting, at present, only of three counties, and of no extraordinary soil, situate but on one side of one navigable river; is, therefore, inferior, in natural advantages, to all others around us; and having no produce, but what other colonies, more commodiously situated, not only rival us in, but, of late, have outdone us, we cannot, therefore, equally flourish with others, unless we compensate these natural defects, by such improvements, in industry, and other good qualities, as may deservedly acquire us a reputation.

“ That the husbandman and merchant are the principal supporters of the colony, from whom all other kinds of business, among us, receive their encouragement; the one raising the produce, and the other exporting it by navigation.

“ That, by the common methods of our trade, for want of a vent abroad, for our wheat, and what is manufactured from it, we can never become considerable; and therefore it is necessary that the countryman should endeavour for some other improvements, and the merchant labour to find out new channels for commerce, by pursuing it in all the branches, that may lie open to us, in other countries; for both these will ever, in reality, have a natural dependence on each other.

“ That

one half of the value of ground rents may very safely be lent to those, who are willing and able to give such security. 1722.

“ *Eighthly*, If, upon further consideration, you find that the sum intended may be issued to better advantage, for a longer time, I think the objection, that our acts can only subsist *five years*, without being approved, is of no weight; for, besides, that it would not be very civil, to suppose that the legislative authority here would deliberately go upon any act of that importance, or indeed, of any kind, which we had the least cause to suspect would be disagreeable to his Majesty, or the sentiments of his ministry: we know very well, it is in his Majesty’s royal power and prerogative, to repeal and make void, at any time, all acts of Assembly, to be made, or passed, in *America*: and, for my

VOL. II. [22] part,

“ That it is an unhappiness to this country, that there are not more wealthy men in trade, who, by large stocks, could force such an extended commerce, as in *New York* and *Boston*; for by these means more shipping, and therefore, more workmen and people would be employed; and both a greater exportation and consumption of the country produce, to the encouragement of the farmer, would be occasioned by it.

“ That it has ever been accounted a great advantage to a country, to have men in it, who can supply others with money, in their necessities, on such terms as the laws approve; for, from such opportunities, the industrious and ingenious, who, for want of something in their hands, might be ever tied down to poverty, may find means to raise themselves (as many have done) to fortunes and a capacity of being extremely useful; from hence many have received vast advantages, by compassing bargains, that otherwise they must, forever have gone without. In short, there is nothing more equitable than that the active and industrious should, for a moderate consideration, have the use of other men’s stocks, who either for want of skill, or inclination, cannot employ it themselves.

“ That the wealth of a country consists of the riches of its inhabitants, and the richer any country is, the better it is for a poor man to live in. All these being unquestionable truths, it is as astonishing to consider, while we have scarce one man in the country, that can be accounted rich, when compared with divers in other colonies; while the province really suffers for want of more men of ability, to promote its interest, and enlarge its commerce; on which great numbers of the people have their dependance; while money can scarce be had on any terms, to lend, or borrow, and seldom ever could be obtained on loan, but by entreaty, and with solicitation; it is astonishing, we say, to consider

1722. part, if I did not, in my conscience, believe that the act, now proposed, would be made on such a rational, just and equal foot, as would rather claim his Majesty's gracious favour, in assenting to it, than render it obnoxious to his impartial justice, I should neither have given myself nor you this trouble.

“ Gentlemen, these are most frankly and sincerely my present sentiments of the matter before you; and, as I do not find myself inclined to dispute, and much less to shew any stiffness, or obstinacy, in an affair of such a general concern, I shall very much rely on your diligent circumspection and care, for the good of your country, being still ready and willing to give you all the assistance in my power.

“ WILLIAM KEITH.

“ *January 22, 1722-23.*”

CHAPTER

sider how it is possible, that there should be any amongst us, who, in despite of common sense, will suffer themselves to be misled into such a spirit of malignity, as, in direct opposition to the interest of the whole, to insult and abuse those few, in the place, who are the most capable of promoting that interest; to return reproaches for what was obtained by prayer; and under the endearing appearance of popularity, to strike at the very sinews of a country's strength, and the evident means of its prosperity; in which all would, according to their ranks, be more or less partakers.

“ We humbly crave the House's excuse for these observations, which the unhappy prevailing humour of the time (as the honourable House, from the last, and other applications, cannot but be sensible) has rendered necessary, for rectifying the distempered notions of the misguided. On which no better advice (we conceive) can be recommended to such persons, than that of the apostle, viz, “ *To follow after the things, which make for their peace; to study to be quiet, and to do their own business,*” &c. as he has recommended. Rom. xiv ch. 19 ver. 1. Theff. iv ch. 11 ver.

“ Although it is true, we are, at present, very poor, yet love and unity appear not less wanting among us, than money; and while we are applying to the Legislature for means to supply the one, if we could be so happy as to join in the other, it would more effectually render it easy to this honourable House to provide for our public necessities, which, that we may, is the earnest desire of their most faithful friends.”

CHAPTER XXV.

The Assembly's conduct in the affair of a paper currency.—Dr. Douglas, &c. on paper money, in New England.—Further account of the Pennsylvania paper currency, till 1749.—Governor Keith a lover and solicitor of popularity, violates his instructions from the Proprietary, which causes party dispute, &c.—Reasons given for and against the same by the Governor and David Lloyd, on one side, and by James Logan, for the Proprietary family, on the other.—Names of the Members of Assembly, elected in 1725; and of some Members of Council about that time.—The widow Penn's answer to the remonstrance of the Assembly relating to said instructions.—Disputes afterwards relative to Proprietor's instructions.—William Allen.—Thomas Lightfoot.

IN this important affair, the Assembly proceeded with the utmost caution and circumspection; for having both the examples and mistakes of the other colonies before their eyes, they saw the principal thing, which they had to guard against, was the depreciation of their bills;* which nothing could

1723.

The Assembly proceeded with great caution, &c.

* Dr. Douglas of Boston, in his summary historical and political, &c. of the British settlements in North America, Boston, printed, 1749; in his remarks on the paper currency in New England, says,

“I have observed that all our paper money-making Assemblies have been Legislatures of debtors, the representatives of people, who from incogitancy,

1723. could so much effect as an over-quantity, defect of solid security, and of proper provision to recal and cancel them; so in this, their first experiment of the kind, they issued only £. 15,000, on such terms as appeared most likely to be effectual to keep up their credit, and gradually to reduce and sink them. For which purpose the act, among several

tancy, idleness and profuseness, have been under a necessity of mortgaging their lands; lands are a real permanent estate; but the debt, in *paper currency*, by its *multiplication*, *depreciates* more and more; thus their land estate, in nominal value, *increases*, and their debt, in nominal value, *decreases*; and the large quantity of *paper credit* is proportionably in favour of the debtors, and to the disadvantage of the creditors, or industrious, frugal part of the colony: this is the wicked mystery of this *iniquitous paper currency*.

"A public credit *paper currency* (says he) is a great promoter of expeditions. 1. These bills, to defray the charge, are soon expedited, but with a consequent distant, but certain ruinous effect. 2. This affluence of paper credit invites, or encourages people to borrow, and run in debt, beyond what they can extricate," &c.

Again the same author says, "The colony of *Massachusetts Bay* was the leader of paper currencies, in the *British* plantations, and have now, at length (1749) carried this *fraud* to the utmost, even, beyond *North Carolina*," &c.

The following table of depreciation, &c. in *Massachusetts*, of their said currency, and that of the present exchange of the other colonies, &c. with *London*, in 1748, are taken from the same author, *viz.* Dr. Douglas, &c. *viz.*

"Table of depreciation, &c. in *Massachusetts*."

Periods.	Exchange with London.	One ounce silver.
A. D. 1702	133 per cent sterling	6s 10½
1705	135	7s
1713	150	8s
1716	175	9s 3
1717	225	12s
1722	270	14s
1728	340	18s
1730	380	20s
1737	500	26s
1741	550	28s
1749	1100	60s

"Present exchange, 1748, with *London* of the other colonies," &c.

For £. 100 strg.	New Eng. curry.	1100	N. Carolina	1000
	N. York	190	S. Carolina	750
	E. Jersey	190	Barbadoes	130
	W. Jersey	180	Antego 170 to	180
	Pennsylvania	180	St. Christophers	160
	Maryland	200	Jamaica	140
	Virginia 120 to	125		

Governor

several others, was passed by the Governor, on the second day of the first month (March) 1722-23. But, from the advantage, which was soon experienced by this emission, together with the insufficiency of the sum, the government was induced, in the latter end of the same year, to emit £. 30,000 more, on the same terms.

1723.

Two acts
passed this
year, for
emitting
£.45,000.

But, that it may appear, with what caution this province, in early time, advanced in this affair, it may not be improper, in this place, to observe, upon a requisition afterwards from the government, in *Great Britain*, in the year 1739, to have the state of the *paper currency*, with the rates of passing, buying and selling gold and silver, in the *British* colonies, from the year 1700, to that time, laid before the *parliament*: the Assembly of *Pennsylvania*, therefore, in November 1739, drew up and delivered to Governor *Thomas*, the following report, which exhibits the further account of this affair, to the said year, viz.

Further ac-
count of the
paper cur-
rency in
Pennsylva-
nia.

“ *An account* of the several acts, passed in the province of *Pennsylvania*, for creating, or issuing, *paper bills*, or *bills of credit*, with the account of those bills, and the value thereof, in money of *Great Britain*; and the provision made for sinking, or discharging the same, together with the sum of bills, that have been sunk, or discharged; also the sum of bills subsisting, or passing in payment, at this time, with the amount of the value thereof, in money of *Great Britain*.

“ In

Governor Hutchinson, in his history of *Massachusetts Bay*, observes, “ In 1702, 6s 8 was equal to an ounce of silver. In 1749, 5s was judged equal to an ounce of silver. I saw a five shilling bill, which had been issued in 1690 (when the first bills of credit, that were ever issued in the colonies, were occasioned by a *New England* expedition against the *French*, &c.) and was remaining in 1749, and was then equal to eight pence only, in lawful money; and so retained but about one eighth of its original value — In 1749 bills of credit were abolished; and unless the evils, which they occasioned, should be forgotten, the government, it must be presumed, will never issue any more.”

Governor Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts, &c.

1723.

“ In the year 1723, two acts were passed, for creating the first bills of credit, by which *forty-five thousand pounds* were issued; and for the effectual discharging, or sinking, the said bills, it was therein provided and enacted, that a real estate, in *fee simple*, of double the value of the sum lent out, should be secured in an office, erected for that purpose; and that the sums, so lent out, should be annually repaid into the office, in such equal sums, or quotas, as would effectually sink the whole capital sum of *forty-five thousand pounds*, within the time limited by the aforesaid acts; which sum, being computed in silver, as it was then received, and paid, among us, and reduced to *sterling money* of *Great Britain*, amounts to £. 29,090 13 4;* but in the year 1726, the sum of £. 6,110 5s. part of the capital sum of *forty-five thousand pounds*, by virtue of the two aforesaid acts, being totally sunk

* With the above report of the state of the paper currency of *Pennsylvania* was likewise, at the same time, the following account of the rates of gold and silver coin delivered to the Governor, as drawn up by the same committee of the House, who made the above-said report, *viz.*

“ An account of the several rates of gold and silver coin, and what prices they were accounted, received, taken and purchased at, and sold for, by the *ounce*; and what rates gold and silver coin, are purchased at, and sold for, by the *ounce*, at this time.

“ From the year 1700, to the year 1709, gold was received and paid, at *five pounds ten shillings* per ounce; and silver at *nine shillings and two pence* per ounce.

“ From the year 1709 to the year 1720, gold was received and paid, at *five pounds ten shillings* per ounce; and silver at *six shillings and ten pence half penny* per ounce.

“ From the year 1720 to the year 1723, gold was received and paid at *five pounds ten shillings* per ounce; and silver coin was purchased with gold, at *seven shillings and five pence* per ounce.

“ From the year 1723, to the year 1726, gold was purchased and sold at *six pounds six shillings and six pence* per ounce, and silver at *eight shillings and three pence* per ounce.

“ From the year 1726 to the year 1730 gold was purchased at *six pounds three shillings and nine pence* per ounce, and silver at *eight shillings and one penny* per ounce.

“ From the year 1730 to the year 1738, gold was purchased and sold at *six pounds nine shillings and three pence*; and silver at *eight shillings and nine pence* per ounce.

“ And

sunk and destroyed, the province found themselves greatly straightened by means thereof, and likely to become subject to many disappointments and losses, for want of a sufficient medium in trade, if the remaining quotas, or payments, should continue to be sunk, according to the direction of the acts; therefore, an act was then passed for continuing the remaining sum of £. 38,889 15, for, and during the term of eight years, by re-emitting, or lending out again, the quotas, or sums, to be paid in, by the respective borrowers, on the same securities and provisions, as were directed by the former acts. 1723.

“ The bills of credit, emitted in the year 1723, being thus reduced by the sinking of the aforesaid sum, and the inhabitants of the province growing exceeding numerous, through the importation of foreigners, and others settling among us; by which means the trade became greatly enlarged; and the difficulties still increased, and the province found themselves under the necessity of making an addition to those bills of credit; and accordingly, in the year 1729, the further sum of *thirty thousand pounds* was then created, and issued upon the same security of real estates, in *fee simple*, to be mortgaged in double the value of the sum lent; and to be paid in by yearly quotas, and sunk and destroyed, as the former acts, passed in the year 1723, had provided and directed in the case.

“ In the year 1731, the acts, for issuing bills of credit, passed in the year 1723, being near expired, and the annual quotas remaining due, on the

“ And now in this present year 1739, gold is purchased and sold at *six pounds nine shillings and three pence* by the ounce; and silver at *eight shillings and six pence* per ounce.

“ Submitted to the correction of the House, by
 Isaac Norris, James Morris,
 Thomas Leech, John Kearsley,
 Abraham Chapman, Israel Pemberton.

“ *Philadelphia, November 23, 1739.*”

1723. the said acts, by virtue thereof, being at this time, to be sunk and destroyed, which would unavoidably have involved the merchants, as well as farmers, in new difficulties, and laid the province under a necessity of making new acts of Assembly, for emitting more bills of credit in lieu thereof, an act was then passed for continuing the value and currency of those bills, for the term of eight years, by lending out the same, as they became due, with the same provisions, and on the same real securities, provided for, and directed by, the former acts.

“ The amount of the bills of credit, in the present year 1739, by virtue of the several afore-said acts, amounting only to £. 69,889 15, from the daily increase of the inhabitants, and the continued importation of foreigners, among us, being found by experience, to fall short of a proper medium, for negotiating our commerce, and for the support of government, an act was passed for creating and issuing a farther sum of *eleven thousand one hundred and ten pounds five shillings*, and for continuing the whole amount of our bills of credit, for a short time of years, under the same real securities, and with the same provisions and limitations, as directed by the former acts; by means of which additional sum, the whole amount of the bills of credit, current in the province, is at this time *eighty thousand pounds*: which sum being computed, as now purchased here, and reduced to sterling money of *Great Britain*, makes £. 50,196. Yet, notwithstanding merchants and others have given some advance, to purchase gold and silver, we are assured, from experience, that difference arises only from the balance of our trade, with *Great Britain*, being in our favour, by means of the far greater quantity of *English* goods imported into this province, since the creating and issuing our bills of credit; for the adventurers advancing

vancing the price of their commodities, and, encouraged by meeting with a ready sale, became great gainers, while wheat, flour, and all the valuable produce of the province, continued at, or near, the usual prices, and are, at this time, to be purchased with our bills of credit, as low, or lower, than has been almost ever known, when gold and silver were the medium of our trade; and all tradesmen, hired servants, and other labourers, have always been, and are still, paid at the same rates, and no more, for their labour, than they formerly received, before the creating, or issuing, our bills of credit.”*

1723.

In October 1723, *David Lloyd* was elected Speaker of the Assembly, and in the year next following *William Biles* was in the same office; during which time, the usual cordiality and harmony appear to have subsisted between the two branches of the Legislature.

The Governor, Sir *William Keith*, appears manifestly, not only in his administration, but also in his general conduct, to have been a great solicitor of popularity; and he both possessed and practised

Governor
Keith a so-
licitor of
popularity,
&c.

VOL. II.

[23]

practised

* To the above account, respecting the *paper currency* of *Pennsylvania*, it may be added, That, by another report of the House of Assembly, made in the year 1749, it appears, that no more was issued till the year 1746; that, in the year 1745, an act of Assembly was passed for continuing the currency of the aforesaid £. 80,000 for sixteen years; during the first ten years whereof, the whole sum to be kept up, by lending out, or re-emitting, the yearly quotas, or payments, as they became due: and after the expiration of ten years, one sixth part of the whole sum to be paid in yearly and sunk, or destroyed; That, in the year 1746, an act was passed, giving £. 5,000 to the king's use, to be sunk in ten yearly payments, of £. 500 each; so that the whole amount of bills of credit, current in the province at that time (1749) was only £. 85,000 then equal to £. 53,333 6 8 sterling money of *Great Britain*: which sum, in the said report, is asserted to be much too small, to carry on the trade of the province; which, of late years had very much increased; but that nevertheless it was of great utility and advantage, as far as it went; that their payments at that time, were made to *Great Britain*, chiefly in gold and silver; which for several years, had passed current in the province at 8/6 per ounce for silver, and £. 6 5 per ounce for gold, &c.

Notes of Assembly, Vol. iv. pag. 119.

1724.

Governor
Keith disre-
gards his
instructions
&c.

Governor
Keith's con-
duct causes
much dis-
pute, &c.

practised those arts, which seldom fail to please the populace; which, in persons of ability are no less dangerous, in the extreme, to which there is the greatest temptation, than they are really necessary, when kept within due bounds, and properly tempered, to execute any good and important design in public affairs: this appears to have been so far the case, with respect to Governor *Keith*, that, though his exerting himself, at all events, to please those he governed, and his harmonizing so very much with the Assembly, were productive of divers advantages, and much benefit to the province, yet his views of raising and supporting himself upon the foundation of popular applause, carried him to such an extreme, that, the more firmly to establish himself in the favour of the people, from whom he drew his support, he neglected those who advanced him to the station, which he filled, and broke through the terms, on which he had engaged in the government, by rejecting the advice of the Council and the Proprietary's friends, and by acting contrary to the instructions of his principal; the absolute observance of which was the compact of his lieutenancy; this was, "*That he should pass no laws, nor transact any thing of moment, relating to the public affairs, without the advice and approbation of the Council.*" This instruction, which, on his appointment to the government, he had obligated himself inviolably to observe, he, now encouraged by the Assembly, held to be illegal, and persisted in his not being bound by any restraint of that nature.*

This conduct of Governor *Keith*, in the latter end of the year 1724, caused much dispute, in the province, tending unhappily further to divide, and

* In the votes of Assembly vol. ii. pag. 427, among the Members of Council, who, in February 1717-18, appear first to have resented, or signified their dissatisfaction with, Governor *Keith*'s paying so little regard to that board, were, *Isaac Norris*, *James Logan*, *Richard Hill*, and *Jonathan Dickinson*.

and make an incompatibility of interests between the proprietaries and the people; which, in reality, were so nearly and intimately connected and interwoven, that, in all the public proceedings, they ought ultimately ever to have been regarded as one: the managers, or chief actors, in this controversy, were principally the Governor and *David Lloyd*, on the one side, and on the other, *James Logan*, the Secretary, and agent to the Proprietary's family.* 1724.

The Governor, with those, who opposed the Proprietary interest being the more numerous, and who now, upon this occasion, began again more particularly to distinguish and exert themselves, advanced, That the power of legislation, was, by the royal charter, solely and entirely vested in the Proprietary, or in his Deputy, with the representatives of the people; that, as the latter, or the delegates of the people, in their legislative capacity, were so far from being liable to

The Governor's reasons for his conduct &c.

* The following is an extract from the *instructions* of the widow, *Hannah Penn* to Governor *Keith*, dated, *London*, May 20, 1724, viz.

"The powers of legislature being, at present, lodged solely in the Governor and Assembly, without so much as a negative reserved to the Proprietary, when absent, it is of the highest importance, for our security, as well as for that of the country, that matters of legislation should be carried on with the most mature advisement and deliberation; for it never was intended that every new Governor should, with an Assembly annually chosen, proceed to make what new laws they should think proper, to be transmitted directly to the king's ministers, without any other check: it has, therefore, been more surprising to see thee (from whom it would have been least expected) to be the first author of so dangerous an invention, which entirely takes off the security, which the Proprietary ever had, and absolutely required of his former deputies, "That nothing should be transacted by them, with any Assembly, but with the just concurrence and approbation of his friends, in Council;" therefore, for remedy of this grievance, it is required, that thou advise with the Council, upon every meeting, or adjournment of the Assembly, which requires any deliberation, on the Governor's part; that thou make no speech, nor send any written message, but what shall be first approved in Council, if practicable, at the time; and shall return no bills to the House, without the advice of the Council; nor pass any whatever into a law, without the consent of a majority of that board; that the minutes of Council be regularly kept, and those of the preceding Council be read and approved at the next meeting, and shall always remain in the possession of the Clerk of the Council," &c.

1724. to be bound, or restrained by any *instructions*, from their constituents, that their acts were absolutely binding upon them; so, neither has the former, or the Proprietary, any just authority to lay restrictions upon his Deputy, (whose acts are also equally binding upon his principal) to hinder him from acting, as he pleased, in conjunction with the other part of the legislature; and consequently all instructions of this nature were void in themselves; that, moreover, by the present charter of privileges, granted by the Proprietary to the people, the *Council* was no part of the legislature; and, therefore, had no right to interfere, in acts of government, so as to be a restraint upon the Governor therein.*

The

* The following extracts, from what was then advanced on this side of the question, may further shew the nature of the dispute, and of the principal arguments used, &c.

Governor *Keith*, in his defence, &c. votes of Assembly, vol. ii, pag. 438, says, "Wherefore, I shall conclude this paper with a short and plain state of the proprietary right, as well as the people's privileges, as they are ascertained and contained in that royal grant, which, without the unanimous consent of all the parties, or a legal forfeiture incurred, cannot be varied, and therefore all subsequent charters, commissions, instructions, &c. and even acts of Assembly, not yet approved of by the crown, which appear to be inconsistent with the terms of the said royal grant, must, so far as they are so, be understood to be void, and of no force.

"The royal charter, with respect to the Proprietary and the people jointly, may be considered as the terms, or condition of that bond of friendship, and mutual interest, entered into between the Proprietary and the first purchasers and settlers of this colony, and their heirs and assigns for ever; and as, in all matters of government, the Proprietary is always to be represented, either by himself, or his Deputy Governor, so is the people to be represented by themselves, or their delegates, lawfully chosen and convened, according to the direction of the said charter; and these two representations, from time to time, do, without the intervention of any other person, or thing, evidently compose the whole legislative power, or General Assembly of this province.

"Now all men, who have yet formed to themselves any intelligible ideas of government, must know, that legislative power cannot be restrained in acts of legislature, even by its constituents; for as the acts of the people's representatives, or delegates, do most certainly bind the whole people, whom they represent, so do the acts of the Deputy Governor bind his principal, whom he represents in a legislative capacity."

David Lloyd, in his vindication, &c. votes of Assembly, vol. ii. pag. 444, says, "The Proprietor had power to make Deputies and Lieutenants;

The Proprietary's friends, on the other hand, alledged the reasonableness and justice of the thing, and the absolute necessity of such a Council, or of the Council's having such a check on the Deputy Governor, both for the safety of the Proprietary, and, even, the further security of the people; besides the constant practice of the first, or late Proprietary, *William Penn*, and its consistency with the nature of an English constitution:—For, said they, in all the royal governments, the Governors are the King's deputies, or representatives; and there is not one of them in *America*, who is not bound by similar, and much more extensive instructions, in reference to their respective Councils, notwithstanding their office of deputy, and representative capacity;—That, in the absence of the Proprietary, who is so greatly interested in whatever concerns the public affairs, for a Lieutenant

1724.
Reasons of
the Propri-
etor's
friends
against the
Governor,
&c.

nants; in which case (as it is in all other cases, where a Deputy may be appointed) the law says, he has full power to do any act, or thing, which his principal may do; and that is so essentially incident to a Deputy, that a man cannot be a Deputy, to do any single act or thing; nor can a Deputy have less power than his principal; and if his principal make him covenant, *that he will not do any particular thing, which the principal may do, the covenant is void and repugnant,*" &c.

Governor *Keith* again says, you will understand from what is observed, that the present Council of this province cannot legally be understood to be any other than a Council of state, to advise, and to be present, as solemn witnesses to the Governor's actions," &c.

Governor Keith's answer to the widow Penn's instructions, Ibid.

Among the arguments advanced by *James Logan*, on the other side of the question, are the following, *viz.*

"There is not one word in the whole charter, that directs the manner of passing bills, into laws; it is express and absolutely grants the Assembly a power to prepare bills, but without any restriction to forbid the preparing of any elsewhere: and what is yet more remarkable, in the direction of the stile, the word *advice* is left out, though commonly used in all acts of parliament, and in the acts of Assembly, in other places. All which clearly shews that the Proprietary's intention, in that charter, was not to bind up himself, nor Lieutenants from *advising* and *consulting* with others, in legislation. It also further shews his resolution to guard, in the language of the charter, against those, who, a little before that time, had started up, in opposition to him, and his interest, and sought to turn his kindest grants of favour, to serve the unkindest purposes against him, that they might from thence have no manner of just pre-
tence

1724. tenant and temporary Governor, perhaps, of some distant country, and with little, or no solid connections, in the province, to be left to act, in government, entirely as he pleases, in respect to his principal, without any check whatsoever from a Council, composed of such of his friends as are inhabitants of the first character and property in the province, and thence so much the more interested in its welfare, was in such an important station, very unsafe not only for the Proprietary, but also unreasonable and unjust, to expect it; and, even, if duly considered, less secure to the people themselves; that, by the royal charter, "The full and absolute power of legislation was vested in the Proprietary, or in his Deputy, with the *advice, assent and approbation* of the freemen, or their delegates, &c. to be assembled for that purpose, in such *sort and form*, as to the said Proprietary and them shall seem best; but that the Assembly, by the present charter of privileges, agreed on between the Proprietary and people, in 1701, are not authorised to *advise*, (a part require

tence against his further proceedings, in taking the best precaution he could, for his, and the country's security, during his absence.

"And, in order to this, he immediately, by letters patent, under the great seal, bearing even date, with the charter, *viz.* the 28th of October, 1701, established a Council, to consult and assist the Proprietary himself, or his Lieutenants, or Deputies, with the best of their advice and counsel, in public affairs, and matters relating to the government, and to the peace, well-being and safety of the people thereof; and in the absence of the Proprietary, or upon the Lieutenant's death, or incapacity, to exercise all and singular, the powers of government, &c. And though he was then about to leave in the lieutenancy, a gentleman of known honour, sincerity and integrity, *viz.* Andrew Halmilton, yet he obliged him, by his instructions, as he afterwards did, the succeeding Governors, Colonel Evans, and Colonel Gookin, to act in all things of moment, relating to the public (and surely none will exclude legislation from that list) by the *advice and approbation* of the Council; which those gentlemen, in these points, as strictly observed. And the present Governor (*Keith*) may remember that he not only received the like instructions with his commission, but for some reasons, best known to those who required it, was obliged in the penalty of *one thousand pounds sterling* to observe them; and, to leave the less room for dispute, they were also put upon record, at his first arrival; which I mention, only because these precautions are the first of the kind, I have known," &c.

Logan's memorial, votes, vol. ii. pag. 421.

quired of the freemen by the royal charter) but ^{1724.} only to *enact*;—That, for this purpose, &c. the *Council* was established by the Proprietary, *William Penn*, as most reasonable, just and necessary; which, in its very nature, could not possibly be injurious, but might be, as it had been, in many cases, beneficial to the country, as well as a security to the Proprietary himself; and that moreover, it was most evidently more consonant to the nature of an *English* constitution.

The Governor strenuously maintained the debate, and persisted in his conduct, till he was superseded in the government by *Patrick Gordon*, in the summer of the year 1726:* before which time, in the month of March preceding, *James Logan*, in order to terminate the dispute, presented to the Assembly, a paper, in which he thus expressed himself, viz.

The Governor persists till he is superseded, &c.

“*James Logan* never alledged that the Council of this province under the present constitution, is a part of its legislative authority; or, that, as a Council, James Logan to the Assembly, &c.

* The names of the Members of Assembly, elected in October, 1725, were,

For Philadelphia county.

Evan Owen,
Matthias Holston,
Francis Rawle,
Anthony Morris,
John Swift,
Job Goodson,
Edward Farmar,
L. C. Sprogle.

Bucks county.

Jeremiah Langhorne,
William Biles,
Joseph Fell,
Abraham Chapman,
Christian Vanhorne,
Matthew Hughes,
Benjamin Jones,
Thomas Watson.

Chester county.

Thomas Chandler,
David Lloyd, *Speaker*,
William Webb,
John Wright,
Samuel Hollingsworth
William Pusey,
George Ashton,
William Paschall.

City of Philadelphia.

John Kearsley, Thomas Trefis.

Note. About the time of Governor Gordon's arrival, in 1726, and afterwards, the following names appear among those of the Members of Council, viz.

James Logan, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Anthony Palmer, Robert Ashton, William Fishbourne:

D. Lloyd, Speaker of the Assembly.
D. Lloyd, R. Hill, R. Ashton, Judges.
Joseph Growden, Attorney General.
Samuel Preston, Provincial Treasurer, &c.

1725. Council, they are otherwise concerned in it, than in conjunction with the Governor, at the board, or, in committees, conferences, by his appointment and direction; or, that an act, passed by the Governor and Assembly, without the Council, is not of as much force, as if it had their concurrence and approbation: but, even, *David Lloyd* himself has fully acknowledged their part in it, in these words of his print, viz. *that he never knew any so senseless*, as to say, that the Governor is excluded (by law or charter) of having a Council, to advise and assist, in legislation; beyond which no man ever asserted they have a right, in this province.

“ And whether the Proprietary can lay his Deputy under restrictions, is now rendered fully intelligible to every capacity, by the Governor himself, in reducing the case to this narrow point, viz.

“ *That the greatest of Deputies can break their instructions; and that they are liable to be removed for it;*” beyond which the matter will not bear a further argument.

“ All other attempts, therefore, to labour these points, can only tend to continue dishonourable disputes, in the government, and engage the whole country in quarrels, that can no otherwise affect it, than by involving it in reproach, and heaping provocations on the Proprietary’s family.”

By the widow *Penn*’s answer to the Assembly’s remonstrance of the 20th of March 1724-5,* on this affair (which *remonstrance* is mentioned, but not

* The names of the Members of this Assembly, elected in October, 1724, were,

For Philadelphia county.

Anthony Morris,
Job Goodson,
Morris Morris,
Francis Rawle,
John Swift,

Bucks county.

William Biles, *Speaker*,
Jeremiah Langhorne,
Joseph Fell,
Christopher Vanhorne,
Matthew Hughes,

Chester county.

Moses Key,
Joseph Pennock,
William Webb,
William Pile,
Thomas Chandler,
Samuel

not inserted, in the printed votes of the House) 1725.
 both the design of the Proprietaries, by these instructions, and also the views of the persons, who were primarily and principally concerned in thus representing the same, as contrary to the charteral rights of the province, are further intimated, as follows, viz.

“ *To the Representatives of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met.*

“ It gave me no small concern, when I received the *remonstrance* of the 20th of March, 1724-5, from the late House of Representatives of the free-men of the province of *Pensilvania*, with their resolution, that some part of a private letter of instructions, sent by me to the late Deputy Governor,* was contrary to the liberties and privileges, granted by charter to the people of that province; and my concern was the greater, when I considered, that, as their happiness had ever been the peculiar care of my late husband, in his life time, so the continuance of it has been no less the desire of myself, and the whole family, ever since his death. I purposed long ere this time to have answered that remonstrance, but finding my sincere intentions to preserve peace and unanimity, in the province, had been manifestly perverted, to the great disquiet of the people; and that too by those, whose duty it was to have acted another part, I was willing to lay hold of a more favourable opportunity, (when you might be left to your own prudent deliberations, without being influenced to misinterpret the good intentions of the

The widow Penn's letter to the Assembly, in 1726.

VOL. II. [24] family

For Philadelphia county.

Samuel Hudson,
 Edward Farmar,
 Matthias Holston.

Bucks county.

Thomas Watson,
 Benjamin Jones,
 Abraham Chapman.

Chester county.

Elisha Gatchell,
 John Parry,
 John Crosby.

City of Philadelphia.

John Kearsley, Thomas Tress.

* This letter was written after the appointment of Governor Gordon, and was probably sent by him.

1725. family towards you) to assure you, that, if, at any time, I fall short of doing any thing, that may advance your interest and reputation, it must proceed only from my not having it in my power. And as to that part of my letter, which was made use of to procure that remonstrance, I do acknowledge it was designed as a cautionary direction, or limitation, upon the acting Governor; but without the least apprehension that it could ever have been construed, by the Assembly, as any design upon the liberties of the freemen of *Pensilvania*: because the *Council*, according to its constitution, either is, or ought to be, composed of persons of the best circumstances and abilities, residing and inhabiting within the said province; and whose interest must, without all doubt, be the same with your own, and that of the people, whom you represent. Nor was this instruction any other, but, in effect, the same with what had ever been given, by my late husband, your Proprietor, to all his Deputy Governors: and (without mentioning the unhappy occasion given, for writing that letter) I was the rather induced to renew this instruction, because by the proceedings of your own House, but a few years ago, it appears, the then Assembly expressed a very particular concern at the Deputy Governor's declining to take the *advice* of the *Council*, upon the bills, sent to him, from their House, to be passed into laws:* and, therefore, I must conclude, that, if in this, you had been entirely left to have followed the resolutions of your own judgments, you would have continued of the same sentiments, and have judged it a very *necessary instruction*, at that time, all circumstances considered; (but more especially if you had been aware of what has happened but too plainly since) that this very remonstrance was obtained with design to wrest the government out of the hands of the

* Governor Gookin, vid. pag. 91, &c.

the Proprietor's family; and by that means, at once, to deprive you of those valuable privileges, secured to you, as well by the royal charter, granted to the late Proprietor, as by the several grants and laws, made by him, under the same; for the preservation of which you express so just a concern: and I do assure you, it is not easy for me to say, whether for your safety, or my own, I am better pleased that this attempt upon the rights of our family, and your privileges, has proved unsuccessful: and, without saying any more of that piece of management, I hope, we shall, all of us, learn to cultivate and maintain so entire an agreement, and mutual good understanding, as may preserve us from ever becoming a prey to designing men; who, it is evident (notwithstanding their fair pretences) consider none of us in any other light, than to serve their own ends and purposes, even, though at the expence of all that is valuable to us. My age, and low state of health make it tedious and difficult for me to apply my thoughts to business; and, therefore, I shall add no more, but that the *Governor*,* appointed by my grandson,† with the concurrence and consent of the family, is, for his prudence, well recommended to us here, and hath, in charge, from us, as much as lies in his power, to do every thing, which he lawfully may, to make you a happy people; which we apprehend to be the surest way to advance the interest of our family, in *Pensilvania*, as well as most agreeable to my own inclination and desires.

“ HANNAH PENN.

“ *London, 20th April, 1726.*”

To conclude the subject of the right, lawfulness, or propriety of Proprietary instructions, or of this kind of restrictions, in this case, though it &c.

Further disputes about Proprietary instructions &c.

* Governor Gordon.

† Springett.

1725. it take us beyond the present time, it is observable, that the government of *Pennsylvania* was absolutely as much the property and estate of the Proprietary, under the crown, as the soil thereof, and both of them intimately connected; consequently during the absence of the Proprietary, rules, instructions and restraints from him to his Deputies, to act by, respecting that property became as proper and necessary, as the directions from any employer to his agent, whose acts are obligatory upon his principal, can be justly supposed to be, notwithstanding which it has been long complained and contended in the province, since that time, "That the power given to the Deputy Governors of *Pennsylvania*, by the royal charter, of making laws, with the advice and consent of the Assembly, for public uses, &c. according to their best discretion is taken away by the Proprietary instructions enforced by penal bonds, and restraining the Deputy from the use of his *best discretion*," &c. to this the Proprietaries, *Thomas and Richard Penn*, by their agent, *Ferdinand John Paris*, in November, 1758, thus answer:

Answer of
the Propri-
etaries on
this subject

"As long as instructions are constantly given to every person entrusted with the government of any *British* colony; (and bonds also required from every such person, for observance of such instructions) as long as instructions are constantly given to all persons whatsoever, executing, even, the regal government of his Majesty's kingdoms, during the royal absence; as long as these Proprietaries are repeatedly commanded, by the crown, upon

William Allen obiit.

Note. In the summer 1725, died *William Allen*, the father of *William Allen*, who was afterwards Chief Justice of *Pennsylvania*; he had been an eminent merchant of *Philadelphia*, a considerable promoter of the trade of the province, and a man of good character and estate.

Thomas Lightfoot.

In the same year, 1725, died *Thomas Lightfoot*, of *New Garden*, in *Pennsylvania*, in an advanced age: he came from *Ireland* in 1716, was an eminent preacher among the Quakers, and much beloved for his piety and virtue.

upon the nomination of each successive Lieutenant Governor, to give instructions to such Lieutenant; and as long as a Lieutenant Governor may, by his misbehaviour (if left entirely to his discretion) bring the Proprietaries estate and franchises into danger; so long the Proprietaries must contend to give instructions to, and take bonds from, their Lieutenant Governors.”

1725.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXVI.

Affirmation, &c. instead of an oath, established in Pennsylvania.—Forms of the declaration of fidelity, abjuration and affirmation of the Quakers in Pennsylvania.—Quaker's grateful address to the King, on the occasion.—Conduct of the Quakers in England on a similar affair.—Custom of the Quakers appearing in courts of justice with their hats on their heads interrupted and restored.—Their address to the Governor and his compliance with their request, on this occasion.—His too great popularity creates faction in the province, and he is superseded in the government by Patrick Gordon, in 1726.—Governor Gordon's administration.—Robert Fletcher.—State of Pennsylvania about this time.—Its trade and produce, &c.

1725.
Of the af-
firmation
act, esta-
blished in
Pennsylva-
nia.

THE use of an *affirmation*, instead of an oath, in all cases, was one of those privileges, for the enjoyment of which *Pennsylvania* was first settled by the *Quakers*; and which they had enjoyed uninterrupted for above twenty years, with the happy effects of the consequence thereof, in the province. But after the resumption of the government, on the laws being revised, in 1700 and 1701, the law respecting the manner of giving evidence, with divers others, were remitted to *Queen Anne*, in Council, in 1705; when the said law was repealed; not with design to deprive the *Quakers* there of the said privilege, but solely on account of its making the punishment, for false affirming,

affirming, greater than the law of *England* required, for false swearing; as appears by the Attorney General *Northey's* opinion thereon. 1725.

The repealing of this law occasioned much difficulty among the *Quakers*, in the province; and divers attempts were made, from time to time, for reviving the aforesaid privilege, but without success, till the year 1725, when an act, prescribing the forms of declaration of *fidelity*, *abjuration* and *affirmation*, instead of the forms before required, having been passed in the province, was ratified by the King, in Council; and thereby became perpetual.

The *Quakers*, in *New Jersey*, were, for a considerable time, subject to similar difficulties, upon the same account; though the equity of their right to an *affirmation*, in their own form, was as old as the constitution; and, in fact, the settlement of the province primarily depended upon the enjoyment of that religious and civil liberty, of And in
New Jersey
&c.

The form of the declaration of *fidelity*.

"I, A. B, do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare, that I will be true and faithful to king *George*; and do solemnly, sincerely and truly profess, testify and declare, that I do, from my heart, abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that wicked doctrine and position, that princes, excommunicated, or deprived, by the pope, or any authority of the see of *Rome*, may be deposed, or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever: and I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual; within the realm of *Great Britain*, or the dominions thereunto belonging."

The form of the *abjuration*, or the effect of the *abjuration oath*.

"I, A. B, do solemnly, sincerely and truly acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, that king *George* is lawful and rightful king of the realm of *Great Britain*, and all others his dominions and countries thereunto belonging; and I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe the person pretending to be prince of *Wales*, during the life of the late king *James*, and since his decease, pretending to be, and taking upon himself the stile and title of king of *England*, by the name of *James* the Third; or of *Scotland*, by the name of *James* the Eighth; or the stile and title of king of *Great Britain*; hath not any right, or title, whatsoever to the crown of the realm of *Great Britain*, nor any other, the dominions thereunto belonging. And I do renounce and refuse any allegiance,

1725. of which this was a part; yet means were found to put a considerable interruption to this just and reasonable privilege; which, at length, finally terminated in the act of the first year of *George the Second*; which act was confirmed, and rendered perpetual, by the King in Council, on the 4th day of May, 1732.

Of the affirmation act, &c.

The Assembly of the province of *Pennsylvania*, in the year 1725, and also the *Quakers*, from their yearly meeting, at *Philadelphia*, separately, to manifest their gratitude for the royal confirmation of the affirmation act of *Pennsylvania*, addressed the King, on the subject;* the address of the latter was, as follows, viz.

“ To

allegiance, or obedience to him; and I do solemnly promise, that I will be true and faithful, and bear true allegiance to king *George*, and to him will be faithful against all traiterous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown and dignity: and I will do my best endeavour to disclose, and make known to king *George*, and his successors, all treasons, and traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know to be made against him, or any of them. And I will be true and faithful to the succession of the crown against him, the said *James*, and all other persons whatsoever, as the same is, and stands, settled by an act, entitled, *An act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown to the late queen Anne, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants*; and as the same, by one other act, entitled, *An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject*, is and stands settled and entailed after the decease of the said late queen, and, for default and issue of the said late queen, to the late princess, *Sophia*, electress and dutchess dowager of *Hannover*, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge, promise and declare, according to the express words, by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, renunciation and promise heartily, willingly and truly.”

The form of administering the solemn declaration, or affirmation, was, by a question asked, as follows, viz.

“ Dost thou, A. B, solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm,” &c. (here the proper words are to succeed, relative to the matter) and the affirmant’s answer, or assent, is to be expressed by saying, *yea*, or *yes*.”

Laws of Pennsylvania.

* These addresses were delivered to the king by *Joseph Wyeth*, *Joshua Gee* and *John Estough*, *Quakers*; one of whom made the following speech on the occasion, viz.

“ May

“ *To our Gracious Sovereign, George, King of* 1725.
Great Britain, &c.

“ The *humble address* of his Protestant subjects, ^{Quakers} called *Quakers*, from their yearly meeting, ^{address to} held at *Philadelphia*, in the province of *Pennsylvania*, the 21st day of the 7th month, ^{the king,} 1725. ^{&c.}

“ In an humble sense of the many blessings and virtues, which flow from the Divine Being, dispensed to the nations and people, over whom he hath been pleased to establish so gracious a prince, great, in his goodness and love to his people, great, in the benignity of his reign, which reaches to the most distant of his subjects, and great, in the sight of the nations round about.

“ If any of the present age should yet, through wantonness or wickedness, shut their eyes, and
VOL. II. [25] not

“ *May it please the king,*

“ These two addresses, transmitted to us from *Pennsylvania*, are, one from the Assembly of that province, the other from our Friends, called *Quakers*, in their private capacity.

“ Thy dutiful subjects do, in both these, express their humble and thankful acknowledgments for the king's gracious goodness to them, in giving the royal sanction to an act of that Assembly; whereby they are replaced in a privilege, they had as first planters of that colony. What we beg, is, that the king will be graciously pleased to accept, from us, these, their dutiful addresses ”

The king's answer.

“ I shall be always pleased to do you service.”

The following extract, is taken from “ *An epistle of caution to Friends, in general, relating to the solemn affirmation* : from a meeting of the people called *Quakers*, held in *London*, the 2nd of the first month, 1721-2, and is here inserted, to shew, in part, the sense, and conscientious sincerity of that people, in *England*, on a similar occasion, viz.

“ *Dear Friends and Brethren,*

“ This meeting, under a weighty sense of the great favour, which it hath pleased the Lord to incline the heart of the king, and those in the government, to grant us, by passing into a law, a *form of solemn affirmation*, which will remove the conscientious scruples, that many Friends lay under, (and thereby enable all to follow their lawful occupations, trades, and civil concerns, without let, or hindrance, on any account) doth find a concern to recommend to all *Friends*, in their quarterly, monthly, or particular meetings, where this law doth, or may extend :

“ That

1725. not see, or be thankful for such happiness, ages to come will look upon it with admiration; and kings may set before them the example; posterity may mark it in their annals; and if ever again attempts should be made upon true liberty and the laws, princes may find the mistake and dishonour in such endeavours, in former times, and remark thy reign, as the way to true grandeur.

“ We have great cause, among the rest of our fellow subjects, to express our affection and duty to our sovereign, and to be, as we truly are, particularly thankful for the royal assent to an act of this province, entitled, *An act for the prescribing forms of declaration of fidelity, abjuration and affirmation, instead of the forms heretofore required in such cases.*

“ This benevolence of our king, in a matter, which so nearly touches the conscience, makes deep impressions on our hearts; but to the Almighty, who sees them, do we earnestly pray for the

“ That they, in an especial manner, have a watchful eye and oversight of their several members, that this great favour be not *abused*, or *misused*, by any professing truth with us.

“ Our blessed Lord, and Lawgiver, *Jesus Christ*, told his disciples, “ *Ye are the light of the world; a city, that is set on a hill, cannot be hid.*” And in every age, as many as do walk in obedience to his gospel, must unavoidably be so; *the daily cross and self-denial*, which he doth enjoin, (those sure tokens of a Christian disciple) are public marks, which are easily seen, and readily observed, by those, with whom we have occasion of business, or concern; and our transacting thereof with uprightness, justice and moderation will shew that we have an awful regard to our Lord *Jesus Christ*, whom we acknowledge and declare to be our great Lawgiver and Example.

“ The great end and design of the new covenant, *grace and truth*, which is come by him, is to draw men into obedience to his law, written in the heart; by which only the inside can be made clean; and according to the degrees of obedience to this divine law, which the apostle calls, *The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus*, the proper effect thereof will appear; that is, *the inside will be made clean also.* Hereby *truth, justice, righteousness and charity* will shine forth in the words and actions of such; and then may be truly applied to them that saying of *Christ*; *a city, that is set upon a hill, cannot be hid.*

“ Beside the inward engagements of this divine law, to speak and act according to truth, there is, at this time, also an outward engagement,

which

the long continuance of his reign, and that an increase of blessings may be showered down on his person and throne, and that his posterity, may be established therein.” 1725.

The *Quakers* of *Pennsylvania*, though this was their indubitable right, as a part of their first purchase, in the original settlement, it is plain, looked upon their being replaced in the enjoyment thereof, as a great favour; and so far were they from thinking it unnecessary to express it, that they declared it, their duty thus gratefully to acknowledge it: which, with their continued care and practice afterwards, not to abuse the same, shewed as much a disposition worthy of such favour and beneficence, on the one hand, as it exhibited, on the other, a regard for the justice and happiness, due to that people, in those, who were possessed of power: such actions will ever remain an obligation on their posterity, so long as they continue in the profession of the same principles, and duly regard

Their gratitude exhibited in this address, &c.

which the government hath laid upon us, not only by the favour of this act, but also by the manner, wherein they have conferred it: for, in the preamble, it is said; *it is manifest that the said people called Quakers, have not abused the liberty and indulgence, allowed them by law.* Which testimony of the Legislature concerning the use of the late *solemn affirmation*, upon twenty-five years experience, ought, at least, to stir up all Friends to great watchfulness and care, in the use of this further ease and relief; that this testimony may be continued, and thereby confirm the government in their favourable sentiments concerning us.

“ And as this signal indulgence may draw the eyes and observation of many people upon us, it may be expected, among these, some will look on us with an evil eye, watch for our halting, and seek occasion against us, upon any misuse, or abuse, of this legal privilege, which any, professing truth with us, or but bearing the name, should fall into, or commit.

“ First, therefore, that there may be no misuse of this favour, we do earnestly desire and entreat, that the several meetings do advise and exhort *Friends*, that they watch against all vexatious and trifling causes of difference; and not, for any such cause, implead, or commence suits of law, upon the encouragement of this *solemn affirmation*, for that would certainly be a perverting the good design of the government, in the granting thereof, and must be deemed a great *misuse* of this privilege.

“ Secondly, That there be no abuses thereof committed, we do, in like manner, entreat and desire, that Friends may be exhorted and advised,

1725. regard the example of their forefathers, to incite their circumspection, in both their religious and civil conduct, with all dutifulness and fidelity to the government; under which they partake not only of the common protection, but also enjoy such particular indulgence.

The Quakers privilege of appearing in courts, in their own way, in Pennsylvania,

With the restoration of the enjoyment of this privilege to the *Quakers*, in *Pennsylvania*, may be mentioned that of another, *viz.* the liberty of appearing *covered*, or, *with their hats on their heads*, (according to their usual custom every where) in all courts of judicature: which this people, in that province, likewise considered as one of their charteral, or legal and indubitable rights, however small, trifling, or humourfome, it may appear to those persons, who, by their conduct, while, at the same time, they may thus represent, or make light of the ceremony of the hat, absurdly render it an affair of so very great importance, as scarcely on any terms whatsoever, to bear, or dispense, with an emancipation from the use of it, in any people!

The

vised, when any just and valuable occasion doth require any to make use of this *affirmation*, that such *Friend*, or *Friends*, be very considerate, and sure of the truth of what they are about to *affirm*; for where property, or liberty are concerned, a false or corrupt evidence is very injurious, and may prove destructive; beside, it ought, on all occasions, to be remembered, that, *a false witness shall not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies shall not escape*; and that the command, *thou shalt not bear false witness*, is as well in the gospel as in the law; and that *all liars shall have their part in the lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone*. To these inward obligations, on the conscience, to truth-speaking, there is also added the outward guard of pains, penalties and forfeitures, to be inflicted on such as shall lawfully be convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury.

“ We cannot omit also to remind you, that should any, under our name, so far depart from the righteous law of God, as herein to become guilty, they will thereby contract to themselves perpetual infamy, and to the body, whereof they may pretend to be members, very great scandal and reproach; and such instances repeated might provoke the government to deprive us of this great benefit; how great would be the load of guilt on any, who should be the occasion thereof!

“ Let it be also considered, that the ground of our petitioning and soliciting this further ease and relief, was a conscientious scruple, *to swear*
at

The institution of a court of *chancery*, in the province, in the year 1720, has been already mentioned. At this court, in which Sir *William Keith* was President, *John Kinsey*, a *Quaker* and a lawyer of eminence, who was afterwards Chief Justice of *Pennsylvania*, was, in the year 1725, obliged, in the way of his business, to attend; where appearing with his hat on his head, according to the usual manner of that people, the President ordered it to be taken off; which, was accordingly done. His friends the *Quakers*, took the affair under consideration; and soon after, at their *quarterly meeting*, in *Philadelphia*, appointed a committee to wait on the Governor; and, in a respectful manner, to request him to continue the privilege, to which the *Quakers* conceived themselves legally entitled, of appearing in courts, or otherwise, in their own way, according to their religious persuasion; an address, being accordingly prepared, was presented to the President, Governor *Keith*; which, with the entry made thereon,

Is interrupted, &c.

at all, at the same time to be guilty of false affirming, and while they pretend to great degrees of purity, to fall short in common honesty! It is indeed among the highest degrees of hypocrisy, a crime abhorred by God and man! &c.

“To all these particulars (several of them being here omitted) we think it necessary to add, and very earnestly and tenderly to recommend to all *Friends*, that, as much as may be, they do avoid all disputes and differences, with their neighbours; and, as much as possible, follow peace with all men; and, in a particular manner, we do press, that all disputes and differences, between *Friends*, be avoided; or, if any do happen, that earnest endeavours be used, by accommodation, or equitable and impartial reference, to end them, without going to law; that so the rebuke of the apostle may not necessarily be applied to any, “Now, therefore, there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law with one another.”

“Dear *Friends*, these things, in Christian concern of mind, we have represented, in order that all may be stirred up to a humble and faithful walking, not, as knowing that any will fall short, in the above particulars, but, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you; and things that accompany salvation, though thus we speak.

“Signed by appointment, and in behalf of the said meeting, by

“BENJAMIN BEALING.”

1725. on, by his order, in the court of *chancery*, and certified by the Register, is as follows, viz.

“ *To Sir William Keith, Baronet, Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.*

“ The humble address of the people called *Quakers*, by appointment of their *quarterly meeting*, held in *Philadelphia*, for the city and county, 2nd of the 2nd month, 1725.

“ *May it please the Governor,*

The Quakers address to Governor Keith thereon.

“ Having maturely considered the inconveniences and hardships, which we are apprehensive all those of our community may be laid under, who shall be required, or obliged, to attend the respective courts of judicature, in this province, if they may not be admitted, without first having their hats taken off, from their heads, by an officer; as we understand, was the case of our friend, *John Kinsley*, when the Governor was pleased to command his to be taken off, before he could be admitted to speak, in a case depending, at the court of *chancery*, after that he had declared, that he could not, for conscience, comply with the Governor's order to himself, to the same purpose; which, being altogether new and unprecedented, in this province, was the more surprising to the spectators, and as we conceive (however slight some may account it) has a tendency to the subversion of our religious liberties.

“ This province, with the powers of government, was granted by king Charles the Second to our Proprietor, who, at the time of the said grant, was known to dissent from the national way of worship, in divers points, and particularly in that part of outward behaviour, of refusing to pay unto man the honour, that he, with all others, of the same profession, believed to be due only to the *Supreme Being*; and they, on all occasions, have

have supported their testimony, so far as to be frequently subjected to the insults of such as required that homage. 1725.

“ That the principal part of those, who accompanied our said Proprietor, in his first settlement of this colony, with others of the same profession, who have since retired into it, justly conceived, that, by virtue of said powers, granted to our Proprietor, they should have a free and unquestioned right to the exercise of their religious principles, and their persuasion, in the aforementioned point, and all others, by which they were distinguished from those of other professions; and it seems not unreasonable to conceive an indulgence intended by the crown, in graciously leaving the modelling of the government to him and them, in such manner, as may best suit their circumstances; which appears to have been an early care in the first Legislators, by several acts, as that for liberty of conscience; and more particularly, by a law of the province, passed in the 13th year of king *William*, chap. xcii, now in force: it is provided that, in all courts, all persons, of all persuasions, may freely appear, *in their own way*, and, *according to their own manner*, and there personally plead their own cause, or, if unable, by their *friends*; which provision appears to be directly intended to guard against all exceptions to any persons appearing *in their own way*, as our *friend* did, at the aforesaid court.

“ Now, though no people can be more ready, or willing, in all things essential, to pay all due regard to superiors, and honour the courts of justice, and those who administer it, yet, in such points as interfere with our conscientious persuasion, we have openly and firmly borne our testimony, in all countries and places, where our lots have fallen.

“ We

1725.

“ We must, therefore, crave leave to hope, from the reasons here humbly offered, that the Governor, when he has fully considered them, will be of opinion with us, that we may justly and modestly claim it, as a right, that *we*, and our *friends*, should at all times, be excused, in the government, from any compliances against our conscientious persuasions, and humbly request, that he would, for the future, account it as such to us, thy assured well-wishing friends.

“ *Signed by appointment of the said meeting,*

“ RICHARD HILL,
 “ RICHARD HAYES,
 “ MORRIS MORRIS,
 “ ANTHONY MORRIS,
 “ EVAN EVANS,
 “ JOHN GOODSON,
 “ ROWLAND ELLIS,
 “ REESE THOMAS,
 “ SAMUEL PRESTON,
 “ WILLIAM HUDSON.

“ *The 10th May, 1725.*”

The Governor complies with their request, &c.

“ On consideration had of the *humble address*, presented to the Governor, this day read in open court, from the *quarterly meeting* of the people called *Quakers*, for the city and county of *Philadelphia*, it is ordered, that the said *address* be filed with the Register, and that it be made a standing *rule* of the court of *chancery*, for the province of *Pennsylvania*, in all time to come, that any practitioner of the law, or other officer, or person whatsoever, professing himself to be one of the people called *Quakers*, may and shall be admitted, if they so think fit, to speak, or otherwise officiate, and apply themselves, decently unto the said court, without being obliged to observe the usual ceremony of uncovering their heads, by having their hats taken off, and such privilege hereby ordered
 and

and granted to the people called *Quakers*, shall, 1725.
 at no time hereafter, be understood, or interpreted, as any contempt, or neglect, of the said court, and shall be taken only as an act of conscientious liberty, of right, appertaining to the religious persuasion of the said people, and agreeable to their practice, in all *civil affairs* of life.

The Governor's order, &c. respecting the manner of the Quakers appearing in court, &c.

“ BY SIR WILLIAM KEITH, *Chancellor*.”

Governor *Keith*, by his popular behaviour and administration, which, in many cases, had been highly beneficial to the province, had so far interested himself in the favour of many of the people, that upon intelligence of his intended removal from the government, by the Proprietary family, they were much displeased, and petitioned the Assembly to make him a gratuity: they, even, after his removal, chose him for a Member of Assembly, and he accepted the office.

Governor Keith much in favour with the people.

But whatever might have been his motives for his popular conduct, in the government, and how far soever he may be thought reprehensible, in studying to gratify those, whom he governed, more than was just and prudent, yet, it is most certain that the real interest of the province of *Pennsylvania* was much indebted to his care and management, while in that office.

Pennsylvania indebted to his administration,

But after he was superseded by *Patrick Gordon*, in the summer of the year 1726, he resided some time in the province, using all means in his power, to divide the inhabitants, embarrass the administration,* and distress the *Proprietary family*; till at length,

His dishonourable conduct, &c.

VOL. II.

[26]

length,

* The following is an extract from a paper, which appears to have been written by *James Logan*, in the third or fourth year of Governor *Gordon*'s administration, viz.

“ When the Governor, last year, in the greatest emergency, that ever was known in this province, summoned the Assembly to meet, and assist him, in that strait, all the Representatives of Chester and Bucks counties, and one of *Philadelphia*, duly came, while eight others, though all in

1726. length, having thereby rendered himself odious to the *people*, as he had done before, to the *Proprietaries*, he returned to *England*; and it is said, at last he died poor, in *London*, about the year 1749: which, though it reflect not much honour on those, who so highly approved of, and loudly declared themselves to have been extraordinarily benefited by his public conduct, in the administration, if it was in their power to have prevented his being in such a situation, is nevertheless, perhaps, an instance of the general and natural consequence and folly of too great a dependance on popular favour.

Governor
Keith is at
last rejected
by them
whom he
had courted
&c.

Governor
Gordon
first meets
the Assem-
bly, &c.

Patrick Gordon appears to have first met the Assembly of *Pennsylvania*, in the beginning of the 6th month, 1726, though he arrived in the province, with his family, some time before. But during the fore part of his administration, for two or three years, the public transactions were not a little disturbed, or obstructed, by the faction created by Sir *William Keith*; who, as before observed, was chosen a Member of Assembly, at the next election, in October, of which *David Lloyd* was Speaker.

Governor
Gordon's
administra-
tion in ge-
neral, &c.

But Governor *Gordon's* administration, in general, was distinguished with moderation and prudence, through a great variety of public and important transactions; in which a general good harmony subsisted between the different branches of the Legislature; and, during a happy time of general tranquillity, both at home and abroad, many wholesome laws were made, great improvements carried on, and trade considerably increas-
ed;

in town, at the time, on pretence they wanted *one Member*, obstinately and cruelly refused to join them, in hopes of disabling them to make a House; because the seventeen wanted one-third of one Member, to make up two-thirds of the whole, (the quorum.) Those seventeen, however, in compassion to the distressed country, proceeded to give the Governor the necessary assistance; yet would do nothing more; and the next assembly fully confirmed what they had done." MS.

ed ; infomuch that about this time, the author of ^{1726.} a publication, called by *Anderson*, in his *historical deduction of commerce, &c. a judicious tract*, entitled, “ *The importance of the British plantations in America to these kingdoms, &c. considered,*” *London*, printed, 1731, speaks thus therein of this province, *viz.*

“ That *Pennsylvania* which has not any peculiar staple, (like *Carolina, Virginia* and *Maryland*) and was begun to be planted so late as 1680, should, at present, have more white inhabitants in it, than all *Virginia, Maryland* and both the *Carolinas*, is extremely remarkable ! And although the youngest colony, on the continent,” [Georgia, &c. was not yet planted] “ they have, by far, the finest capital city of all *British America* ; and the second in magnitude. The causes usually assigned for this vast increase of *white people*, in so short a time, are these, *viz.* first, their kind treatment of the *Indians*, their neighbours ; hereby rendering that province absolutely safe from their attempts. Some, indeed, have gone so far, as to assert, that they are the only *British* colony that have treated the poor native *Indians* with humanity : for, that no other *British* colony admits of the evidence of an *Indian* against a *white man* : nor are the complaints of *Indians* against *white men* duly regarded, in other colonies ; whereby these poor people endure the most cruel treatment, from the very worst of our own people, without hope of redress ! And all the *Indian* wars, in our colonies, were occasioned by such means. Secondly, the excellency of *Pennsylvania*’s laws ; whereby property is effectually secured to all its inhabitants.

State of
Pennsylvania
about
this time.

Note. *Robert Fletcher* of Abington, in *Pennsylvania*, died in August, 1726. He had filled several public stations with honour and integrity ; *Fletcher* and is said to have had a clear character, was much respected by most sorts of people, and made a happy exit, at last, as his death-bed expressions, in manuscript, testify. His death was accounted a great and public loss, but more especially to his friends, the *Quakers*, and his neighbours.

1726. inhabitants. Thirdly, the unlimited toleration for all manner of religious persuasions, without permitting any claims to *ecclesiastical power*, to take place. All men, who are Protestants, are indifferently eligible to the magistracy and Legislature, let their private opinions be what they will, without any religious test."

1731. Respecting *Pennsylvania's* product, commerce, and benefit to *Great Britain*, about this time, (1731) the same author further says, *viz.*

Articles of
trade and
produce of
Pennsylva-
nia, anno
1730, &c.

"The product of *Pennsylvania*, for exportation, is wheat, flour,* bisket, barrelled beef and pork, bacon, hams, butter, cheese, cyder, apples, soap, myrtle-wax candles, starch, hair-powder, tanned leather, bees wax, tallow-candles, strong beer,* linseed oil, strong waters, deer-skins, and other peltry, hemp (which they have encouraged by an additional bounty of three half pence per pound weight, over and above what is allowed by act of parliament) some little tobacco, lumber [*i. e.* sawed boards, and timber for building of houses, cypress wood, shingles, cask-staves and headings, masts, and other ship timber] also drugs, of various sorts (as *sassafras*, *calamus aromaticus*, *snake-root*, &c.) lastly, (adds our author) the *Pennsylvanians* build about 2,000 tons of shipping a year for sale, over and above what they employ in their own trade; which may be about 6,000 tons more. They send great quantities of corn to *Portugal* and *Spain*, frequently felling their ships,

* Governor Gordon in a speech to the Assembly, in the first month 1731, says,

"I have understood, that when this colony was young, and had but little experience, it exceeded all its neighbours, in the fineness of its *flour* and *bread*, and goodness of its *beer*; which are the only produce of our *grain*; the regulations, which have already been made, in the two first, have greatly contributed to their improvement, as well as the reputation of the province; and it will become the Legislature to continue their care and concern, in a point of such consequence to the whole community," &c.

Votes, &c.

ships, as well as cargo; and the produce of both is sent thence to *England*; where it is always laid out in goods, and sent home to *Pennsylvania*.” 1731.
“ They receive no less than, from 4,000 to 6,000 pistoles from the Dutch isle of *Curaçoa* alone, for provisions and liquors. And they trade to *Surinam*, in the like manner, and to the *French* part of *Hispaniola*, as also to the other French sugar islands; from whence they bring back molasses, and also some money. From *Jamaica* they sometimes return with all money and no goods; because their rum and molasses are so dear there. And all the money they can get, from all parts; as also sugar, rice, tar, pitch, &c. is brought to *England*, to pay for the manufactures, &c. they carry home from us; which (he affirms) has not, for many years past, been less than £. 150,000 per annum. They trade to our provinces of *New England*, *Virginia*, *Maryland* and *Carolina*, and to all the islands in the *West Indies*, (excepting the *Spanish* ones) as also to the *Canaries*, *Madeira* and the *Azores* isles; likewise to *Newfoundland*, for fish; which they carry to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and up the *Mediterranean*; and remit the money to *England*; which, one way or other, may amount to £. 60,000 yearly; but without their trade to the *French* and *Dutch colonies*, in the *West Indies*, they could not remit so much to *England*; neither could they carry on their trade with the *Indians* if they did not take off the *rum* and *molasses*, as well as *sugars* of those colonies, in part of payment of the cargoes they carry thither.”

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXVII.

Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries, arrives in the province from England in 1732.—Assembly's address to him, with his answer.—Boundaries between Pennsylvania and Maryland agreed on; with a description of the same.—Dr. Douglas's account of this affair, &c.—John Penn, the eldest Proprietor arrives in the province in 1734.—The Assembly's address to him, with his answer.—Lord Baltimore attempts to obtain of the king the territories, and such part of Pennsylvania as were supposed to be within the grant to his ancestors; upon which the Assembly address the king; and John Penn returns to England.—Assembly's address to him, on his departure, with his answer.—Death of John Penn and Governor Gordon.—Administration of the Council, James Logan, President.—Names of some Members of Council.—Benjamin Franklin, &c.—Disturbances from Maryland, on the borders of Pennsylvania.—Expences of Indian affairs.—Arrival of Governor Thomas.—His administration.—Part of Andrew Hamilton's speech to the Assembly, on the cause of Pennsylvania's prosperity, at his taking leave of the House, as Speaker, &c.

1732. **I**N the month of August 1732, Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietaries from England, arrived in the province:

province; where he continued a number of years. On the 15th of the month the Assembly presented him with the following address, viz.

1732.

Thomas
Penn ar-
rives in the
province,
&c.

“ *To the honourable Thomas Penn, Esquire, one of the Proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania.*

“ The humble *address* of the Representatives of the freemen of the said province, in General Assembly met.

The Assem-
bly's ad-
dress to him
&c.

“ *May it please our honourable Proprietary.*

“ At the same time that we acknowledge the goodness of Divine Providence in thy preservation, we do most sincerely congratulate thee upon thy safe arrival into the province of *Pennsylvania*.

“ Our long and ardent desires to see one of our honourable Proprietaries amongst us, are now fulfilled; and it is with pleasure we can say thou art arrived at a time, when the government is in perfect tranquillity; and that there seems to be no emulation amongst us, but who shall, by a peaceable and dutiful behaviour, give the best proof of the sense, they have of the blessings, derived to us, under our late honourable Proprietary your father, whose goodness, to his people, deserves ever to be remembered with *gratitude* and *affection*.

“ Be pleased to accept of our best wishes for thy health and prosperity; and give us leave to say, as no discouragements, nor any artifices of ill men, have hitherto been able to deter the good people of *Pennsylvania* from a firm adherence to your honourable family, so we shall always, to the utmost of our power, support and maintain that government, under which we do, with all gratitude, acknowledge, we enjoy so many valuable privileges.”

To which the Proprietor returned this answer, viz.

“ That

1732.

The Proprietor's answer.

“ That he heartily thanked the House for their affectionate address; and that, as he looked upon the interest of *Pennsylvania*, and that of his family, to be inseparable, the House might assure itself, that it should be his study to pursue those measures, which had rendered the name and government of his father so grateful to the good people of this province.”

Boundaries fixed between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

In the year 1732, on the 12th of May, was signed by *John, Thomas and Richard Penn*, the Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*, a commission, directed to Governor *Gordon, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, James Logan* and *Andrew Hamilton*, Esquires, and to *James Steel* and *Robert Charles*, gentlemen, appointing them, or any three, or more of them, commissioners, with full power, on the part of the said Proprietaries, for the actual running, marking and laying out, the boundary lines, between both the province and territories of *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*, according to articles of agreement, indented, made and concluded upon, the 10th of May, in the same year, between *Charles*, Lord *Baltimore*, the Proprietary of *Maryland*, and the above mentioned Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*.*

And

* Dr. *Douglas*, in his summary of the British settlements, in *North America*, speaks thus, on this subject: (*Boston*, printed, 1753) viz.

“ As the controversy, of long standing, concerning the boundaries, between Lord *Baltimore* of *Maryland*, and the *Penns* of *Pennsylvania*, has made much noise; we shall insert a short abstract of the same, for the amusement of the curious.”

Lord *Baltimore*'s royal grant of *Maryland* was about 50 years prior to Mr. *Penn*'s grant of *Pennsylvania*; but in *Baltimore*'s grant there was an exception of lands belonging to the *Dutch*, which are, at present, the three lower counties upon *Delaware* river; when Mr. *Penn* took possession, he found one *Dutch* and three *Swedes* congregations.

The grand dispute was concerning the construction of the expression 40 degrees of latitude; *Maryland* grant 1632, says, to the 40th degree of latitude, which the *Maryland* side of the question construe to be, to 40 degrees compleat; *Pennsylvania*'s grant, 1681, says, to begin at the beginning of the 40th degree, which the *Pennsylvania* side construe to be just after the 39th degree is compleated; thus there was a dispute of the extent of one degree of latitude, or 69 *English* miles.

Considering

And an instrument of the same tenor and date, 1732. was executed by the said Lord *Baltimore*, directed to *Samuel Ogle, Charles Calvert, Philemon Lloyd, Michael Howard, Richard Bennit, Benjamin Tasker* and *Mathew Tilghman Ward*, Esquires, appointing them, or any six, five, four or three of them, commissioners, for the same purposes, in the part of the said *Charles*, Lord *Baltimore*.

In which articles of agreement, between the said Proprietaries, published in *Philadelphia*, in 1733, respecting the limits and boundaries between the two provinces, including those of the territories of *Pennsylvania*, it is mentioned to the following purport, *viz.*

That a due east and west line shall be drawn from the ocean, beginning at cape *Hinlopen*, which lies south of cape *Cornelius*, upon the eastern side of the *Peninsula*; and thence to the western side of the *Peninsula*, which lies upon *Chesapeak* bay, and as far westward as the exact middle of that part of the *Peninsula*, where the said line is run.

Boundaries
between
Penn and
Baltimore.

VOL. II.

[27]

That

“ Considering that *Maryland* grant was prior, and that the *Maryland* people had made considerable improvements by possessions, within that degree of latitude, the affair was compromised seemingly in favour of *Maryland*, by a written agreement, May 10th 1732, “ and that, in two calendar months from that date, each party should appoint commissioners, not more than seven, whereof three or more, of each side, may act, or mark out the boundaries aforesaid, to begin, at furthest, sometime in October 1732, and to be completed on, or before, 25th December, 1733, and when so done, a plan thereof shall be signed, sealed and delivered by the commissioners and their principals, and shall be entered in all the public offices in the several provinces and counties; and to recommend, to the respective Legislatures, to pass an act for perambulating these boundaries, at least once in three years.

“ The party defaulting to pay to the other party, on demand, *six thousand pounds sterling*; accordingly the commissioners respectively appeared; but, upon some differences, in opinion, the boundaries were not made in the time limited; the failure was in Lord *Baltimore*'s side, who alledged, that he had been deceived in fixing cape *Henlopen* 20 miles south westerly of the western cape of *Delaware* bay; whereas cape *Henlopen* is the western cape itself; the *Penns* affirm that the western cape is cape *Cornelius*, and cape *Henlopen* is about miles southwardly of it, according to the *Dutch* maps, and descriptions, published about the time, when Lord *Baltimore* obtained his grant.

“ Because

1732.

That from the western end of the said east and west line, in the middle of the *Peninsula*, a strait line shall run northward, up the said *Peninsula*, till it touch the western part of the periphery, or arch, of a circle, drawn twelve *English* statute miles distant from Newcastle, westward towards *Maryland*, so as to make a tangent thereto, and there the said strait line shall end.

That from the northern end of the last mentioned strait line, drawn northward, a line shall be continued due north, so far as to that parallel of latitude, which is fifteen *English* statute miles due south of the most southern part of the city of *Philadelphia*.

That in the said parallel of latitude, fifteen miles due south from *Philadelphia*, and from the northern
ern

“ Because of non-performance, the *Penns*, 1735, exhibited a bill, in the *chancery* of *Great Britain*, against Lord *Baltimore*, praying that the said articles may be decreed to subsist, and be carried into execution, and that any doubts arisen may be cleared by said decree.

“ After tedious delays, at length, May 15, 1750, the Lord Chancellor decreed costs of suit against *Baltimore*, and that the articles of May 10th 1732, be carried into execution; and that before the end of three calendar months, from May 15th, two several proper instruments, for appointing commissioners, not more than seven of a side; any three, or more, of a side, may run and mark the boundaries, to begin sometime in November next, and to be completed on, or before, the last day of April, 1752, to be signed, &c. recorded, &c. and enacted, &c. as per agreement of 1732, above related.

“ Lord Chancellor decreed concerning the late disputes, 1. That the centre of the circle be fixed in the middle of the town of *Newcastle*. 2. That the said circle ought to be a radius of 12 *English* miles. 3. That cape *Henlopen* ought to be deemed at the place, laid down in the maps annexed to the articles of 1732.

“ The commissioners, appointed by each party, met at *Newcastle*, November 15, 1750; they agreed on a centre in *Newcastle*, from whence the 12 miles radii are to proceed; but a dispute arose concerning the mensuration of these 12 miles. Lord *Baltimore*'s commissioners alledged that these miles ought to be measured superficially; the *Penns*' commissioners alledged, that, considering the various *inequalities* of the ground, such radii could not extend equally, consequently, from them no true arch of a circle could be formed, and insisted upon geometrical and astronomical mensuration: thus the proceedings of the commissioners stopt; and they wrote to their respective principals for further instructions, relating to that point, and adjourned to April 25, 1751.”

Douglas's summary, &c.

ern end of the last mentioned north and south line, a line shall be run due west across *Susquehanna* river to the western boundary of *Pennsylvania*; or so far, at present, as is necessary, which is only about twenty five miles westward of the said river, &c. 1732.

All which lines to be the boundaries between the respective provinces of *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*, including the territories of the latter.

Notwithstanding this agreement, the performance was long delayed, or obstructed, by altercation, or disputes, between the parties, about the mode of doing it, said to have been occasioned principally by the Proprietary of *Maryland*: in consequence of which the inhabitants on the *Pennsylvania* side, near where the boundary line ought long before to have been ascertained and marked out, were sometimes exposed to unreasonable demands from *Maryland* claims, and disagreeable, or ill treatment of that government, for want of the same: for it was not finally executed till the year 1762; when these families, or Proprietaries, agreed to employ two ingenious mathematicians, *Charles Mason*, and *Jeremiah Dixon*, after their return from the cape of *Good Hope*; where they had been to observe the transit of *Venus*, in the year 1761, finally to settle, or mark out the same; which was accordingly performed by them; and stone pillars erected, to render the same more durably conspicuous.

In October, 1734, *John Penn*, the eldest of the Proprietaries, and a native of *Pennsylvania*, arrived in the province from *England*; whom the Assembly, on the 16th of the month, presented with the following address, viz. The Proprietor
John Penn
arrives in
the province.

“ To the honourable *John Penn*, Esquire, one of the Proprietaries of the province of *Pennsylvania*, &c.

“ The

1734.

The Assembly's address to him.

" The address of the representatives of the free-men of the said province, in General Assembly met.

" *May it please the Proprietary,*

" Excited by affection and gratitude, we cheerfully embrace this opportunity of congratulating thee on thy safe arrival to the place of thy nativity. When we commemorate the many benefits, bestowed on the inhabitants of this colony, the religious and civil liberties, we possess, and to whom these valuable privileges, under God and the king, are owing, we should be wanting to ourselves, and them that we represent, did we not do justice to the memory of thy worthy ancestor, a man of principles truly humane, an advocate for religion and liberty.

" What may we not hope for from the son of so great a man, educated under his care, and influenced by his example! May his descendants inherit his virtues as well as his estate, and long continue a blessing to *Pennsylvania*.

" *Signed by order of the House,*

" **ANDREW HAMILTON, Speaker.**"

To which address he returned the following answer, *viz.*

" *Gentlemen,*

The Proprietor's answer.

" I return you my hearty thanks for this affectionate address. The kind regard you express for the memory of my father is most agreeable to me; and, as it was always his desire, so it is strongly my inclination, to do every thing in my power, that can promote the happiness and prosperity of this province."

1735.

Lord Baltimore attempts to get the lower counties, &c.

In the summer of the year 1735, Governor *Gordon* received accounts from *England*, that application had been made to the king by the Lord *Baltimore*, Proprietor of *Maryland*, for obtaining a grant,

grant, or confirmation, of the three lower counties on *Delaware*, and a part of *Pennsylvania*, as lands within the descriptive part of the charter, granted to his ancestors; and that his application had been opposed both by a petition, presented to the king, by *Richard Penn*, Esquire, one of the honourable Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania*, and also by a representation from the people called *Quakers*, in *England*, in behalf of the province and territories, &c. upon which occasion the Assembly of *Pennsylvania* drew up an address to the king, in the month of June this year.

1735.

The Assembly addresses the king on the occasion.

This affair seems to have hastened the return of the Proprietor *John Penn*, to *England*; who soon after this time left the country; upon which, about the middle of September, the Assembly presented him with the following address, viz.

“ *To the honourable John Penn, Esquire, one of the Proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania.* ”

The Assembly's address to John Penn, on his departure for England.

“ The humble address of the Representatives of the freemen of the said province, in General Assembly met.

“ *May it please the Proprietary,*

“ That just esteem and grateful sense, which the people of this province have always retained for the memory of thy honourable father, our late Proprietary and Governor, raised in them the strongest desires to see some of the descendants of that great man among us.

“ As his wise example gave us just reason to hope, so it was our daily wishes, that his virtues, as well as his estate, might descend to his posterity. And it is with pleasure we can now say, it was not in vain we promised ourselves from thee that affection and regard, which is natural for a good man to have for the place of his nativity.

“ That

1735.

“ That humility, justice and benevolence, which has appeared in thy conduct, since thy arrival here, has very deservedly gained thee the esteem and affections of the people; and we do, with truth, say, thy leaving us at this time, gives an universal concern to the inhabitants of this province.

“ May thy voyage be prosperous, and thy success equal to the justness of thy cause; and may we soon have the happiness of seeing thee return a blessing to thy native country: and give us leave to hope, that, thou wilt, upon every occasion, join thy favourable sentiments towards the people of this place, with those of thy honourable brother, who, by his stay here, will have frequent opportunities of doing what will always endear your honourable family to the freemen of *Pennsylvania*.”

To which the Proprietary returned the following answer, viz.

“ *Gentlemen,*

John
Penn's an-
swer,

“ I am very sensible of the concern you express for me, and am obliged to you for this kind address. I am glad of this opportunity of seeing the Representatives of the freemen of *Pennsylvania*, at my departure; and you may be assured I shall make it my particular care to do every thing in my power, that may advance the interest of this my native country.”

John Penn
dies in
1746, &c.

John Penn, of whom the inhabitants of *Pennsylvania* appear to have conceived a favourable opinion, and great expectations, never returned; but died unmarried, in October, 1746; and by his will, left all his part of the province, which consisted of two shares, or half of the whole, to his brother *Thomas*, who, from that time forward, with the youngest brother *Richard*, became the sole Proprietaries.

Governor

Governor *Gordon*, after a prudent and prosperous administration of about ten years, died in the summer 1736; when consequently the government devolved on the Council, *James Logan* being President; a person of experience and ability.*

1736.

Governor
Gordon
dies, &c.

President *Logan*, during the time of his Presidency, as well as both before and after it, in conjunction with the Council, appears to have had occasion, among other things, to exert his abilities, in the management of *Indian* affairs; among which people he had great influence. In which time likewise the claims of *Maryland* upon the *Pennsylvanians*, who were settled near the place where the boundary line ought to have been marked out before this time, and the disturbances arising from the government and people of *Maryland* on that account, gave much uneasiness and trouble to divers inhabitants who were settled within the bounds of *Pennsylvania*; but in general, during his administration, the public affairs seem to have been well conducted, for about the space of two years, till the arrival of *George Thomas*, Esquire, in the summer of the year 1738, who succeeded in the government.

James Lo-
gan Presi-
dent of the
Council,
&c.Governor
Thomas ar-
rives in
1738.

Governor *Thomas* appears to have been a man of abilities and resolution, but, in some things, did not sufficiently understand the nature and genius of the people, over whom he presided: in the

Governor
Thomas's
administra-
tion, &c.

* Among the names of the Members of Council, in February, 1735, I find, James Logan, Clement Plumstead, Ralph Ashton, Thomas Griffiths, Samuel Preston, Thomas Laurence, Samuel Hasel, Charles Read.

Note, Dr. *Douglas*, in his summary, &c. says,

"Major *Gordon* died in October, 1736, and Mr. *Logan* was, in course, President, for a short time; but was soon superseded by Colonel *Thomas*, a planter of *Antego*. Mr. *Logan* died much lamented, November, 1751. After nine years government, Colonel *Thomas* resigned, in 1747; and was succeeded by *James Hamilton*, Esquire," &c.

Note, *Benjamin Franklin*, afterwards the famous Dr. *Franklin* of *Philadelphia*, is first mentioned as being chosen clerk to the Assembly, in October, 1736; for which office he petitioned the House in succession to *Joseph Greenwood*.

1738. the forepart of his administration his conduct seems to have been satisfactory to the country; but afterwards, the war commencing between *England* and *Spain*, about the year 1740, his manner of urging some military demands, with which the Assembly, being chiefly *Quakers*, on account of their religious principles, could not comply, seems to have introduced so much altercation and dispute between them, for some years, as to render the administration disagreeable to both, though the Assemblies, at that time, were not averse to grant money for the general use of the crown; which they then did, at different times, to a considerable amount.*

Governor
Thomas
first meets
the Assembly,
&c.

He first met the Assembly of *Pennsylvania* in the sixth month, 1738; and in his first speech to the House, on the 8th of that month, informed them, he had been appointed to the government above a year before; but his embarkation was impeded by unexpected delays, made by Lord *Baltimore's* objecting against the Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania* appointing a Governor over the three lower counties, &c. which objection, after some time, was disregarded, and his appointment both over the province, and the said counties, approved by the king.

1739. In the sixth month, 1739, the Speaker of the Assembly, *Andrew Hamilton*, in his speech, when he took leave of the House, on account of his age and infirmities, &c. expressed himself in the following manner, respecting the happy constitution

* During these times, when *England* was at war with *Spain*, afterwards joined by *France*, the Assembly in 1741, granted for the king's use £. 3,000, and in 1746, £. 5,000 more, besides some other payments of a similar nature; as the indemnifying of masters, whose bound servants had enlisted, &c.

Besides, the expences on *Indian* affairs, paid out of the provincial stock by the Treasurer and Trustees of the loan office, from the year 1733 to 1751, were £. 8,366, which make £. 464 annually, on an average of 18 years, during a time of great tranquillity with them.

Votes of Assembly, Vol. 4. page 105.

tion and prosperity of *Pennsylvania*, in these times, 1739.
viz.

“ I would beg leave to observe to you, that it is not to the fertility of our soil, and the commodiousness of our rivers, that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress, this province has made, within so small a compass of years, in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation, and the extraordinary increase of people, who have been drawn hither, from almost every country in *Europe*; a progress, which much more ancient settlements, on the main of *America*, cannot, at present, boast of; no, it is principally, and almost wholly, owing to the excellency of our constitution; under which we enjoy a greater share both of civil and religious liberty than any of our neighbours.

Part of
 Andrew
 Hamilton's
 last speech
 to the As-
 sembly, on
 the causes
 of Penn-
 sylvania's
 prosperity,
 &c.

“ It is our great happiness, that, instead of triennial Assemblies, a privilege, which several other colonies have long endeavoured to obtain, ours are annual; and, for that reason, as well as others, less liable to be practised upon, or corrupted, either with money or presents. We sit upon our own adjournments, when we please, and as long as we think necessary; and we are not to be sent a packing, in the middle of a debate, and disabled from representing our just grievances to our gracious sovereign, if there should be occasion; which has often been the fate of Assemblies in other places.

“ We have no officers, but what are necessary; none but what earn their salaries, and those generally are either elected by the people, or appointed by their representatives.

“ Other provinces swarm with unnecessary officers, nominated by the Governors; who often make it a main part of their care to support those officers, (notwithstanding their oppressions) at all

1739. events. I hope it will ever be the wisdom of our Assemblies to create no great offices nor officers, nor indeed any officer at all, but what is really necessary for the service of the country, and to be sure to let the people, or their representatives, have, at least, a share in their nomination, or appointment. This will always be a good security against the mischievous influence of men holding places at the pleasure of the Governor.

“ Our foreign trade and shipping are free from all imposts, except those small duties, payable to his majesty, by the statute laws of *Great Britain*. The taxes which we pay, for carrying on the public service, are inconsiderable; for the sole power of raising and disposing of the public money for the support of government, is lodged in the Assembly; who appoint their own Treasurer; and to them alone he is accountable. Other incidental taxes are assessed, collected and applied by persons annually chosen by the people themselves. Such is our happy state, as to our civil rights.

“ Nor are we less happy, in the enjoyment of a perfect freedom, as to religion. By many years experience we find, that an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing any one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effectual method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of the moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs, that always attend religious squabbling.

“ This is our constitution; and this constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. *Penn*, the first Proprietary and Founder of this province; whose charter of privileges, to the inhabitants of *Pennsylvania*, will ever remain a monument of his benevolence to mankind, and reflect more lasting honour on his descendants, than the largest possessions. In the framing this government, he reserved no powers to himself, or his heirs, to oppress

press the people, no authority, but what is necessary for our protection, and to hinder us from falling into anarchy; and therefore (supposing we could persuade ourselves, that all our obligations to our great lawgiver, and his honourable descendants, were entirely cancelled, yet) our own interests should oblige us carefully to support the government, on its present foundation, as the only means to secure to ourselves and our posterity, the enjoyment of those privileges, and the blessings flowing from such a constitution, under which we cannot fail of being happy, if the fault is not our own.

“ Yet I have observed, that, in former Assemblies there have been men, who have acted in such a manner, as if they utterly disregarded all those inestimable privileges, and (whether from private pique and personal dislike, or through mistake, I will not determine) have gone great lengths in risking our happiness, in the prosecution of such measures, as did not at all square with the professions, they frequently made, of their love to our government.

“ When I reflect on the several struggles, which many of us, now present, have had with those men, in order to rescue the constitution out of their hands, which, through their mistakes (if they really were mistakes) was often brought on the brink of destruction, I cannot help cautioning you, in the most earnest manner, against all personal animosity, in public consultations, as a rock, which, if not avoided, the constitution will, at some time or other, infallibly split upon.”*

CHAPTER

* Andrew Hamilton, Esquire, of *Philadelphia*, died in the latter end of the summer 1741. He had served in several considerable stations both in the government of Pennsylvania, and the lower counties, with honour, integrity and ability. He was a lawyer of great note for many years; and acquired much reputation, in that line, particularly in *Zenger's* famous trial, at *New York*, &c.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Conduct of Governor Thomas, respecting the enlisting of indented, or bought servants, for soldiers, in the province, during the war between England and Spain, about this time.—Names of the Members of Assembly.—Speech of John Wright, a Magistrate of Lancaster county, to the Grand Jury.—Assembly's address to Thomas Penn, on his departure for England, with his answer, in 1741, &c.—Memorial of John Wright.—Of Robert Jordan.—Riotous election in 1742, with observations.—Indian affairs well managed in Governor Thomas's administration.—He resigns the government in 1747.—Names of Members of Council about this time.—Succeeding administration and Governors.—Memorials of John Kinsey, Israel Pemberton, Michael Lightfoot, and John Smith.—Conclusion.

1740. **D**URING the administration of Governor Thomas, it is observed that the *enlisting of indented or bought servants, for soldiers,** was first permitted to be carried into execution, in the province, before the act of *parliament*, in that case, was made; which being disagreeable and injurious to many of the inhabitants, and contrary to ancient usage, *John Wright*, one of the people called *Quakers*, a worthy

Governor
Thomas
counte-
nances en-
listing
bought ser-
vants, &c.

* The number of bought and indented servants, who were thus taken from their masters, as appears by the printed votes of the Assembly, were about 276; whose masters were compensated by the Assembly for their loss sustained thereby, to the amount of about £. 2,588.

worthy Magistrate of *Lancaster* county, and a Member of Assembly for the same, having spoke his mind freely against it, in the Assembly, was, therefore, with divers others, dismissed from his office, as a Judge, by a new commission which came out for Lancaster without his name; before which, having got intelligence of the intention, he came to the court, in May, 1741, and took his leave thereof, in a valedictory speech, which was printed, and as it is in part indicative of that time, and informing in some cases, it is here inserted below in the notes.*

Thomas

The names of the Members of Assembly, elected in October, 1740, are,

For Philadelphia county.

Thomas Leech,
John Kinsey, *Speaker*,
Robert Jones,
Isaac Norris,
Edward Warner,
Joseph Trotter,
James Morris,
Owen Evans.

Bucks county.

John Hall,
Mark Watson,
John Watson,
Abraham Chapman,
Benjamin Field,
Thomas Canby, *junr.*
Mahlon Kirkbride,
Jeremiah Langhorne.

Chester county.

Thomas Chandler,
Joseph Harvey,
James Gibbons,
William Hughes,
Samuel Levis,
John Owen,
Jeremiah Starr,
Thomas Tatnall.

Philadelphia city.

Israel Pemberton,
John Kearfley.

Lancaster county.

Thomas Linley,
John Wright,
Thomas Ewing,
Anthony Shaw.

* "The speech of *John Wright*, one of the Magistrates of *Lancaster* county, to the court and Grand Jury, on his removal from the commission of the peace, at the quarter sessions, held at *Lancaster*, for the said county, in May, 1741.

"Published by order of the Grand Jury."

"As a new commission of the peace, for this county, is, I suppose, Speech of now to be published, in which my name, and some of my brethren, are, John I presume, left out; I desire your patience and attention a few moments, Wright, while I give the last charge to the Grand Jury, which I shall ever do, Esquire, from this place, and take leave of my brethren, the Justices, and my &c. friends, the good people of the country, as a Magistrate.

"I have, for upwards of twenty years, borne a commission of the peace, in *Chester* and *Lancaster* counties, under the respective Governors of this province; and have lived in familiar friendship and good understanding with all of them, until of late.

"About twelve years ago, under the mild and peaceable administration of Governor *Gordon*, I was one of those, who were instrumental in procuring this part of the province to be erected into a separate county, and have contributed, according to my small ability, to have rule and order established and preserved amongst us. I have always attended the courts of judicature; except when want of health, or the service of my country,

1741. *Thomas Penn*, one of the Proprietaries, being
 The Pro- about to return to *England*, the Assembly, in the
 prietor sixth month, 1741, presented him with the fol-
 Thomas lowing address, viz.
 Penn going
 for En-
 gland;

“ *May it please the Proprietary,*

The Af- “ Gratitude to the first Founder of our present
 sembly’s ad- happy constitution, the regard paid to his merit,
 dress, on and the hopes of continued obligations from his
 the occa- descendants, united the desires of many of the
 sion. inhabitants of this province to see one of them,
 at least, settled within it: this was evident in the
 joy, which discovered itself in the minds of all
 sorts and degrees of men, on thy arrival among us.

“ In transacting of public affairs (as in those,
 which are private) a diversity of sentiments may
 have appeared, sometimes among ourselves, some-
 times perhaps with our Proprietaries; and yet, as
 our

country, in some other station, required my absence; and it has been my
 lot repeatedly to give the charge to the gentlemen of the Grand Jury,
 from this place.

“ I am now an old man; too old, if both opportunity and inclination
 should invite (which I am well assured never will) ever to take the bur-
 den upon me again; and, therefore, am willing to make you a few ob-
 servations on power and government, and the present posture of affairs
 here.

“ I shall pass over the original of the *English* constitution; the several
 steps and gradations, by which it has rose to the purity and perfection,
 it is at this day; the many attempts, which have been made to invade it,
 and the blood and treasure, which have been spent, in defence of that
 constitution, and those liberties, which render the *English* nation so fa-
 mous throughout the world.

“ And, first, I observe to you, *gentlemen of the Grand Jury*, that the
 privilege of trials, by *juries*, is counted older than the *English* govern-
 ment, and was not unknown to the ancient *Britons*: *juries* are looked
 upon as an essential felicity to *English* subjects; and are put in the first
 rank among *English* liberties: the reason given is this; because no man’s
 life shall be touched, for any crime (out of parliament) unless he be
 thought guilty by two several *juries*; and these juries, being substantial
 men, taken, from time to time, out of the neighbourhood of the person
 accused, cannot be supposed to be biased; whereas, it is observable, that
 Judges are made by prerogative; and many have been preferred by cor-
 rupt ministers of state; and may be so again; and such advanced as will
 serve a present turn, rather than those of more integrity, and skill, in the
 laws.

“ *Juries*

our different sentiments have been the result of 1741.
 honest minds, whose determinations (though possibly mistaken) were intended for the public good, it ought not, nor hath, erased those ties of gratitude, which we desire may ever remain between the descendants of our late worthy Proprietary, and the freemen of this province.

“ The welfare of the inhabitants of this colony, and that of our Proprietary family, seem to us mutually to depend on each other, and therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that we are so desirous of their residence among us: it being reasonable to think, we are most secure from any attempts on our liberties, when the administration of government, and the management of the public affairs of the province, are under the immediate inspection of those, whose interest it is to preserve our constitution from any encroachments.

“ These

“ *Juries* are of two kinds, and are commonly distinguished by *Grand* and *Petit Juries*; the former, which you are, have larger power than the other, as very plainly appears by the qualification, which you have taken. Your power extends to all offences within the county; and your office is principally concerned in two things, *presentments* and *indictments*; the difference of which is this, the first is, when you, of your own knowledge, or enquiry, take notice of some offence, crime, or nuisance, to the injury of the public, which you think ought to be punished, or removed, and give notice to the court, in writing briefly, of the nature of the thing, and the person's name and place: this is called a *presentment*, and differs from an *indictment*, in these two respects; first, in that it is not drawn up in form: whereas *indictments* are generally drawn up and presented to you, by the Attorney General and the witnesses qualified to attend you; and when you have examined them, you either *indorse*, that it is a *true bill*; or, that it does not appear, to you, sufficient grounds for the accusation, that the person's life, estate, or reputation, should be brought in question; all which is understood, by *indorsing* the word *ignoramus*. From hence it appears that you are appointed, as well to be guardians of the lives, liberties, estates, and even, reputations of the innocent, as to be a means of bringing offenders to justice. And, as you are endued with a sufficient portion of understanding, to know what offences are *representable* by you, I shall not enumerate them; having already said, they are generally under your notice; but shall rather recommend to you, and your successors, a steady care, both for the security of the innocent (for by you malicious prosecutions may be cropped in bud) and for bringing offenders to the justice of the law; that by their public shame and suffering, they and others may be deterred from the like offences, for the future.

“ The

1741.

“ These considerations, as we are informed the Proprietary is determined to leave us, afford not the most pleasing reflections ; but, as we presume, the affairs of the family render it necessary, and are in hopes, that either he himself, or some other of our Proprietaries, will, in a little time, return, it behoves us to acquiesce under it. Whatever little differences in opinion may have happened, we hope the Proprietaries will believe the freemen of this province retain that regard, which is due to them ; and would be glad of any proper opportunity of demonstrating it : and such is our confidence in the Proprietary family, that, if any attempt shall be made to the prejudice of those rights (which under our gracious king, we now happily enjoy) they will to the utmost of their power, oppose it, and thereby lay us under like obligations for the continuance of those privileges, which we readily own are due to their worthy ancestor, for bestowing them.

“ As

“ The office of a civil Magistrate, or Justice of the Peace, is an office of high trust, and ought to be executed with great care, circumspection, and good conscience. Magistrates may be looked upon as Ministers under God, invested with some branches of power, for the public benefit, viz. To be a terror and scourge to *evil doers*, and a praise to them who *do well* ; and while they lead lives exemplary of this, and in their public actions, have this principally in view, distributing justice impartially, with clean hands and pure hearts, their post is truly honourable, and they are highly worthy of regard. But if they unhappily deviate from this rule, if they are found in the practice of those crimes, which they ought to punish and suppress, if they pervert justice for bribes, and oppress the poor and innocent, they, therefore render themselves highly unworthy of an office of so great a trust.

“ I was always a friend to power, well knowing that good and wholesome laws, duly executed, are so far from being a restraint upon true liberty, that they are only as regulating springs to the passions, and productive of it ; and our worthy Founder, and first Proprietor tells us, “ *That he composed his frame of government with a view to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power :*” and these two are generally observed to attend each other, as causes and their effects. And a noted professor of the law, in this province, some years ago, when he espoused the cause of liberty, and loaded with age and infirmities, took a long journey in defence of it, has these words on power : “ *It may justly be compared to a great river, which, while kept within due bounds, is both beautiful and useful ; but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed ; it bears down all before it, and brings destruction and desolation where it comes.*”

“ If,

“ As the welfare of this province hath so near a dependance on that of our Proprietary family, 1741.]
our interest and duty enjoin our particular concern for them; give us leave, therefore, on this occasion, to express our hearty desires for thy prosperous voyage, and safe return among us.”

To this address the Proprietary answered, as follows:

“ *Gentlemen,*

“ I thank you for the regard shewn to my family, in this address, and for your good wishes for my prosperous voyage. Thomas Penn's answer to the Assembly's address.

“ As I am very sure both my brothers and myself have the true interest of the inhabitants of this province very much at heart, you may rest assured, we will oppose any attempts that may be made on their just rights, which we think it is our indispensible duty to support.

VOL. II.

[29]

“ The

“ If, then, these are the ill effects of lawless power, every wise man ought to be on his guard, to prevent them, by keeping up the banks of liberty, and common right, the only bulwark against it.

“ It was in defence and support of this great bulwark, against the attempts of power, under a pretence of serving his majesty, but done in such a manner as, I apprehend, cannot be supposed was ever intended, or expected, by our most gracious sovereign; whose distinguishing character is, to protect and not to oppress; and whatever burden the necessity of the times requires to be laid on the subjects under his immediate and just administration, is laid equally and impartially; I say, it was to the opposition, given by the House of *Representatives*, to the manner, in which these attempts were made, and the just concern and dislike shewed thereto, that we may impute the late changes, made in the commissions of the peace, throughout the province, whatever other pretences they may be glossed with.

“ For this cause, my friends and countrymen, for the cause of *English liberty*, for standing in the civil defence of right and property, are we dismissed; and I rejoice, and am heartily glad, that I have been one of those, who are thought worthy of displeasure.

“ And now, to conclude, I take my leave, in the words of a Judge in *Israel*, “ *Here I am, witness against me; whom have I defrauded; whom have I oppressed; or, of whose hands have I received any bribe, to blind my eyes therewith? And I will restore it.*”

“ May the Prince of Peace, who is the King of kings, protect the people of this province, from domestic foes and foreign enemies! is my hearty desire; and so I bid you all farewell.”

Respecting

1741.

“ The affairs of my family now call me to *England*; and I cannot, at our parting, better evidence my regard for you, than to recommend it to you to act, in your station, as good subjects to the king, really sensible of the benefits, you enjoy, under his mild and equal administration; and that you will take such measures for the defence of this province, as the present posture of affairs abroad require, in which you will have all the assistance from the Governor, that can be expected from a gentleman in his station, who has no view, but the king’s honour, and the security of your constitution.

“ *August 20, 1741.*”

Thomas Penn becomes the chief Proprietor, &c.

Thomas Penn, after this, on the death of his brother *John*, in 1746, became the principal Proprietor, and possessed of three fourths of the province. He lived the longest of the three brothers; but

Respecting this same *John Wright*, it may be further observed, in this place, that he died about the year 1751, in *Lancaster* county, where he had lived, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Memorial of John Wright.

It is recorded of him, “ That he was born in the year 1667, in *Lancashire*, in *England*, of religious and reputable parents; who were among the early professors of the doctrines held by the people called *Quakers*, and lived and died highly esteemed members of that community. He was educated with a view to the practice of physic; but he declined pursuing it; and entered into trade, till the year 1714; when he removed with his family, into *Pennsylvania*, well recommended by certificate, from his friends, the *Quakers*, in that part of *England*, both as to his moral character, and as a preacher, in the society; with whom they had, for many years, lived in strict amity.

“ Soon after his settlement in the province, his principles and conduct recommended him to the notice of the public: he was a Representative to the General Assembly, for *Chester* county, and many years one for *Lancaster* county. In his station as a Judge, for the last county, he was noted for a prompt, honest plainness, and candour, and an inflexible integrity; one instance of which appears in the cause and manner of his dismissal from that office, in 1741, as above mentioned.

“ He continued to attend the Assemblies, till broken health, and an advanced age, rendered such attendance difficult, and sometimes impracticable; although the people among whom he lived, from a long experience of his services, and regard to him, would not be prevailed on by himself, or his family, to name another in his stead, for that station; but continued to return his name till he died.

“ Through

but he appears never to have been very popular, 1742. in the province: he is said, in general, to have conducted himself rather too much reserved towards the people, and too nearly attached to certain views, for his private interest, in reference to the province; which are things opposite to popularity. Besides, the imprudence of some persons in the province, in order to shew their dislike at some part of his conduct, which did not please them, tended to create and increase a similar disposition, where the contrary ought the more to have been cultivated and cherished; but, in general, he was a person of a worthy character, and of moderate principles.

In the fifth year of Governor *Thomas's* administration, in October, 1742, at the annual election, for the Members of Assembly, in *Philadelphia*, happened such an instance of the unwarrantable effect of party spirit, as, at that time, made a lasting impression on the minds of many of the inhabitants. A riotous election, &c.

The greatest blessings, when perverted to wrong purposes become the greatest curses to mankind; and the very sources of happiness and prosperity, by mistake and abuse, are changed into the causes Blessings may be changed into curses, &c. of

“Through every station in life, his good will to mankind, his love of peace and good order, and his endeavours to give them a permanent footing, in his neighbourhood, and in the country, in general, were known to be his delight and study: his sense of religion, and the testimony he bore to it, were free from intemperate zeal, yet earnest, and attended with life and spirit, influenced by the love of God, and benevolence to his whole creation; such he continued, with his understanding clear, his mind calm, cheerful and resigned, to the advanced period of old age, when he expired without a groan.”

On the 19th of October, 1742, died *Robert Jordan* of *Philadelphia*; Death and a person of note, and an eminent preacher, among the *Quakers*; in memorial which service he had travelled much in divers countries: accounts say of of Robert him, that he was justly esteemed and beloved, not only by those of his Jordan. own religious society, but also by others, both of high and low rank, who had the pleasure of his acquaintance: that he was generous in his sentiments, free and communicative, yet very circumspect, in his conversation and behaviour; and carried with him through life, the evident characteristics of a good man, and a minister of Christ.

1742. of infelicity, and the most pernicious evils; even, liberty itself, than which nothing is more desirable, when carried beyond a certain point, degenerates into licentiousness; and, from its effects, producing the worst kind of tyranny, is, of all evils, frequently rendered the most destructive to the human race; for, as one beast of prey devours another, so men, whatever refined notions they may otherwise possess, or pretend to, when restrained neither by law nor conscience, are more pernicious, and that often to their own species, than the worst of savages, or, even, the most ravenous of the brutal kind! It is thus that men originally, by their own actions and depravity, lose that true liberty, to which they would otherwise be entitled; and the human species is thereby brought into vassalage to their own folly. Too great liberty is the cause of too great restraint upon it; and every extreme is the source of the contrary; may this never be the case of *Pennsylvania!*

Liberty had drawn many different kinds of people to Pennsylvania, &c.

Liberty, which had long been conspicuous in the province, and of which the early inhabitants had, in general, so long shewed themselves worthy, by not making an improper use of it, had drawn great numbers of various sorts of people into the country; many of whom were persons of very different principles and manners from those of the generality of the more early settlers, and many of their successors and descendants. Hence, in succeeding years, certain symptoms of an approaching change, in this valuable blessing, began to grow more and more conspicuous, through the formation and increase of party, among many of the later inhabitants, joined and instigated by divers others; and, in their elections for Members of Assembly, to foment the spirit of opposition against the *old interest*, and the defenders of the established constitution of the province, and the descendants

ants of the early settlers, who were principally concerned for its preservation, being chiefly *Quakers*, to a higher degree, than had ever been known before. 1742.

The most remarkable and unwarrantable instance of this nature, that I find on record, in this province, was this, which I have mentioned, in the year 1742; when a large number of sailors, from the shipping in the river *Delaware*, during the time of election (not being any way interested, or, of right, concerned therein) armed with clubs, suddenly and unexpectedly appeared, in a tumultuous manner, and formed a *riot*, at the place of election, knocking down a great number of the people, both Magistrates, Constables and others, worthy and reputable inhabitants, who opposed them; and, by violence having cleared the ground, several of the people were carried off, as dead!

Account of
the riot in
1742, &c.

This was repeatedly done, upon the return of the electors; till, at last, many of the inhabitants, being enraged, took measures to force them into their ships, and near fifty of them into prison; but they were soon discharged: for it afterwards appeared, that they had been privately employed, in this work, by some party leaders; it being then in time of war, when consequently party spirit, which is so nearly allied to it, and, in the extreme, ends in the same, was encouraged to make greater efforts, to distract the public proceedings, and under this Governor's administration, by more ways than one, to divert the established form of the constitution, from its *peaceable order and course*, into that of its opposite nature; in which an increasing party here, since that time, though generally under the most specious and plausible pretences, have ever appeared to take delight: for change is grateful to the human race; and, probably, no government of mankind is, at all times, entirely

occasioned
by party
leaders, &c.

1743. entirely free from factious spirits; and a large number will always be found, especially where much liberty abounds, which is only proper for the wise and good, whose interest, as well as pleasure, it will ever be to favour *revolutional* consequences.

Of Governor
Thomas's
administration.

Governor
Thomas re-
signs the
govern-
ment in
1747, &c.

During Governor *Thomas's* administration, the *Indian* affairs, seem mostly to have been well managed, and harmony continued with that people; which has always been a matter of great importance, as well as expence to this province.* But, as before observed, his ardour, in pressing some things of a military nature, appears to have introduced unprofitable altercation between him and the Assembly, during part of his administration; which naturally tends to disappointment and dislike, between parties of such opposite and fixed principles, and so very different views of advancing the public utility, as those of Governor *Thomas*, and the Assemblies of Pennsylvania were, at that time; but afterwards, for divers years before his resignation, which was in the summer of the year 1747, a much better understanding existed between them.

In

* Among the names of Members of Council (who with the Governor, always had the chief management of *Indian* affairs) in the year 1742, I find,

James Logan,
Clement Plumsted,
Samuel Haffell,
Abraham Taylor,

Samuel Preston,
Thomas Lawrence,
Ralph Ashton,
Robert Strettell.

Note. In November, 1747, *Anthony Palmer* being President, I find mentioned of the Members of Council,

Thomas Lawrence,
William Till,
Robert Strettell,
Joseph Turner,
Thomas Hopkinson,

Samuel Haffell,
Abraham Taylor,
Benjamin Shoemaker,
William Logan.

In July, 1749, the honourable James Hamilton being Governor.

Thomas Lawrence,
Abraham Taylor,
Benjamin Shoemaker,
Thomas Hopkinson,
Richard Peters,

Samuel Haffell,
Robert Strettell,
Joseph Turner,
William Logan,

} Council.

In consequence of Governor *Thomas's* resignation, the administration, as usual, devolved on the Council, *Anthony Palmer* being President, till November, 1748; when *James Hamilton*, of *Pennsylvania*, arrived Governor from *England*; a gentleman of considerable fortune in the province, and well esteemed by the people: he was the son of *Andrew Hamilton*, before mentioned as a lawyer of note, in *Philadelphia*; and who likewise had held several eminent public offices, in the government, with reputation.

1748.

Governor
Hamilton
arrives, &c.
in 1748.

Governor *Hamilton* continued till his resignation in October, 1754; when he was succeeded, in the government, by *Robert Hunter Morris* of *New Jersey*, son of *Lewis Morris* who had been Governor of that province.

Governor
Morris, &c.
1754.

In

Note. In May, 1750, died at *Burlington*, in *West Jersey*, of an apoplectic fit, *John Kinsey* of *Philadelphia*. He was an eminent lawyer; and, during the last seven years of his life, Chief Justice of *Pennsylvania*; which station he held with an unblemished integrity; and with so much reputation, that, even, the chief part of the lower courts followed him there. He had been many years a Member and Speaker of the Assembly of *New Jersey*; where he distinguished himself with so much zeal and true patriotism, as greatly endeared him to the people of that province. On his removal to *Philadelphia*, in 1730, he was soon chosen into the Assembly there; of which he was Speaker during the last ten years of his life successively; except a month, or two, when he, being on an embassy to an *Indian* treaty, held at *Albany*, *John Wright*, before mentioned, officiated in his stead.

Death and
memorial of
John Kin-
sey, &c.

He had very much practice and success in the law, and was, for some time, *Attorney General*, his long experience and great ability, in the management of public affairs, his skill in the laws, and readiness for communicating his knowledge therein, often without fee or reward, and his tenderness to his friends, the people called *Quakers*, by whom he was deservedly esteemed a valuable member, in their religious society, with the exercise of many civil and social virtues, are said to have rendered his life very useful and valuable, and his death much lamented, as a great and universal loss to these provinces.

Israel Pemberton, of *Philadelphia*, died on the 19th of January, 1754, in the 69th year of his age. He was the son of *Phineas Pemberton*, one of the first, or very early, settlers of *Pennsylvania*, and many years an honourable Member of the provincial Council, in the early time of the province. This his son *Israel* was born in *Pennsylvania*, in 1684; he was many years one of the most considerable merchants of *Philadelphia*; and a representative for that city, in General Assembly, nineteen years successively. He was one of the people called *Quakers*; and accounts of

Israel Pem-
berton.

1756.
 William
 Denny Go-
 vernor, &c.
 And James
 Hamilton a
 second time
 &c.

In the year 1756, William Denny from *England*, succeeded Governor *Morris*; and continued in the administration till 1759: at which time he was succeeded by *James Hamilton*, second time Governor; who continued till 1763.

In

of him say, that he was a man of a calm, even and chearful disposition of mind; which, being improved by an early acquaintance with the principles of the religion which he professed, rendered his whole life an instructive example of the *Christian* virtues: that he was much beloved and esteemed by his friends the *Quakers*, for his many and long continued good services, in that society, and universally respected by all others of his acquaintance, for his steady conduct, manly behaviour, open sincerity, and quiet, inoffensive life and conversation, preferring a compliance with his known *Christian* duty before all other considerations; that he was generous, charitable and humane; and among the first in most public contributions, and acts of real beneficence.

Michael
 Lightfoot.

Michael Lightfoot of *Philadelphia*, died in December, 1754. He came from *Ireland*, and settled in *New Garden*, *Chester* county, in *Pennsylvania*, about the year 1712. He was an eminent preacher among the *Quakers*; and travelled much in that capacity, in divers countries, both in *Europe* and *America*; being highly esteemed by those of his own religious society, as a bright and exemplary gospel minister, and of great service in that vocation: in general, he is said to have been a man of an amiable and unblemished character. After he removed to *Philadelphia*, during the last eleven years of his life, he held the office of provincial Treasurer for *Pennsylvania*; which he discharged with much honour and integrity.

John Smith

John Smith of *Burlington*, in *New Jersey*, son of *Richard Smith*, formerly of the same place, and brother of *Samuel Smith*, author of the history of that province, (of a family originally from *Yorkshire*, in *England*) died on the 26th day of the third month, 1771, in the 49th year of his age. As he was a person of an amiable character, good example, and public utility, not only in the province of *New Jersey*, but also in that of *Pennsylvania*, it may, therefore, not be improper, in this place, to mention respecting him; that, being brought up to mercantile affairs, he lived several years in *Philadelphia* as a merchant, having married *Hannah*, the daughter of *James Logan*, Esquire, a woman of good and amiable qualities; by whom he had several children. After her death, in the year 1762, he retired to *Burlington*, the place of his birth; having been a very useful and valuable member of society, and served several years in the provincial Assembly of *Pennsylvania*, with good ability, reputation and integrity; besides, being much engaged in the affairs of his own religious community of the people called *Quakers*, in *Philadelphia*; by whom he was highly esteemed and beloved, for his good sense, liberal and generous sentiments, agreeable and instructive conversation, his extensive abilities, and generally beneficent life, and kind services; which were so very considerable, as to leave lasting impressions, on the minds of his friends and acquaintances, in that city, and to render his memory dear to many.

After his removal to *Burlington*, he was appointed, by *mandamus* from the king, one of the *Council* for *New Jersey*; in which office he continued to be useful to the public; and, at the same time, particularly serviceable

In the year 1763, *John Penn*, son of *Richard Penn*, one of the Proprietaries, succeeded Governor *Hamilton*, in the administration, and continued till 1771; when the government devolved on the Council, James Hamilton being President, for a short time; till in the latter part of the same year, *Richard Penn*, brother of *John Penn*, arrived from *England*, invested with the powers of government.

1763.

Succession
of Govern-
ors.Richard
Penn Go-
vernor.

Richard Penn was superseded in the administration by his brother *John Penn*, who now, after his father's death, in 1771, became a Proprietary, and second time Governor of the province, in the latter part of the year.

John Penn,
second time
Governor.

VOL. II.

[30]

CONCLUSION.

viceable in his own religious society, till the time of his sickness and death.

He was endowed with great conciliating abilities; and the preservation of peace and concord, among mankind, was much the subject of his attention and delight.

He was engaging, open, friendly and undesigning, in his address and behaviour; of a chearful and benevolent disposition of mind; well skilled in the laws of his country; and very ready, generous and serviceable, in giving his advice and assistance.

In his religious character, he exhibited an excellent example of true practical *Christianity*, free from all affectation and narrowness of mind. He was, in several relations, one of the best of neighbours and of men.

He had a turn to literature, and though he was not favoured with much of a learned education, yet, as he was a person of good natural parts, much reading, and conversed with all ranks of men, in his own country, he writ several pieces, to good advantage, on different, but generally the most interesting subjects, of a religious, moral and civil nature; some of which have been published for general benefit.

CONCLUSION.

THUS far appears the manner of the rise, colonization, increase and happy establishment of the flourishing province of *Pennsylvania*; which, by means of the very remarkable industry, honesty, moderation, and good policy of the first and early colonists and their successors, from a wilderness, became as a fruitful field, and a very valuable and important addition to the British interest in *America*, without any expence to the parent country.*

The enjoyment of that rational freedom of thinking, and religious worship, with a just and equal participation of natural and civil rights, which, in the populousness, and general polity of *Europe*, seemed to be either too much lost, or, at least, too partially distributed, was the compact of settlement; and the restoration and fruition of that peace and tranquillity, which the wickedness and folly of the human race had so much banished from the world, by the more effectual encouragement and promotion of primitive truth and simplicity, in the actions and manners of men, in a way, that seemed best to those concerned, and so far as the state of human nature would admit, were the chief views and motives to the undertaking.

That these were the real principles, upon which the constitution and government of *Pennsylvania* were primarily founded, it is sufficiently known and manifest, from the best documents, and confirmed by a series of most certain facts, as given, though defectively, in the preceding history, and
in

* This being written about the year 1778 or 1779, in a time of great confusion, contention and uncertainty, in this part of *America*, alludes, in the conclusion, to a probable, or apparent future change, &c.

in the following view of the general state of the province, between the years 1760 and 1770: that its great and rapid increase, its happy and flourishing condition since, down to the present time, have been principally owing to the influence of these same principles, in degree still prevailing, future time will further, and more fully demonstrate, whenever the unhappy reverse thereof shall take place; which now seems to be fast approaching: by whose contrary effects will then still more clearly appear, in contrast, both the cause and means of the extraordinary, and so long continued prosperity, and unparalled felicity, for which this province has been long so justly famed, above all other countries, at least, in *America*, if not in the whole world: a state, in some respect, so nearly resembling that of those *saturnian* times, in *Italy*, which, we are told formerly produced the *golden age*, and so far actually realizing ancient fable, that to its inhabitants, perhaps, before any other people, on the surface of the globe, might particularly, and with great propriety, have been applied the exclamation of the poet Virgil,

“ Felices nimium sua si bona norint, Agricolee!”

as well as that of Milton, respecting the state of the first parents of mankind,

———“ and, O! yet happiest, if ye seek
No happier state, and know to know no more.”

But all things have their time; and both kingdoms and empires, as well as smaller states, and particular persons, must die; “*finis ac ab origine pendet* ;” yet folly often shortens their duration, as wisdom and virtue prolong their more happy existence: and we may plainly see men frequently and greedily embrace the former, for the latter, and with great zeal and confidence often pursue their own misery, under a strong persuasion of the contrary: for, as the human body, when in
its

its most plethoric state, and in the greatest appearance of health and vigour, is often then most in danger, or nearest a sudden change, so the late and present extraordinary prosperity, the increasing, flourishing and happy state of this country, at present, above others, may probably be a prognostic, or sign, of its being in a more critical situation and danger.

For so long as the fatal delusion, which, we are told, originally rendered mankind unhappy, still continues, though in different degrees, and various appearances, to except entirely from its baneful influence no part of the human race, every condition, in this world, will be subject to mutability; but then the remedy has ever been equal to the disease; for the Creator and Supporter of the world, whose peculiar attribute it is, to produce good out of evil, has placed within the power and choice of mankind, those means of recovery from all evil, which are, at least, adequate to the nature and extent of it; and sometimes places special examples before the eyes of the human race, like this of *Pennsylvania*, to shew them the absolute possibility of a still superior bliss, and more exalted felicity, than is commonly experienced in the world, not only in an individual, but also in a collective, or national, and more universal capacity.



A V I E W
OF THE
Province of Pennsylvania,

AND OF THE
State in which it flourished, chiefly between the years
1760 and 1770:

COMPREHENDING FOUR PARTS.

- I. *A general description of the soil and face of the country, with the most considerable mountains and rivers, both in that and the adjacent provinces; including something of the nature of the weather, and peculiarity of the seasons, &c.*
- II. *Of the chorography, present produce, trade, improvements, inhabitants, Philadelphia, other towns, and the internal police of the province.*
- III. *Of the Indians, or Aborigines, of Pennsylvania and its vicinity, &c.*
- IV. *Of the religious state of the province.*

To give a full and minute account of every particular, which might properly be ranged under these several heads, would exceed the bounds of my present intention, which is only to exhibit a short and comprehensive view of such parts thereof as truth and candour may be able to furnish from certain knowledge; and such information as may be best depended on, with such brief observations as may naturally and properly arise from the subjects, in a summary manner.

PART I.

The seasons and temperature of the weather.—Nature of the land and soil, &c.—Face of the country in general; as the mountains, vallies, plains, rivers, and creeks, &c.

Seasons and
weather in
Pennsylva-
nia.

THAT greater degree of fixity in the temperature of the air, which prevails more on continents, than islands, or smaller tracts of land, surrounded by water, is observable in *Pennsylvania*. For the weather, round the year, is much dryer here, than in *Great Britain*, notwithstanding the more violent changes, in this country, when they happen. The winters are longer and more severe; the summers hotter and dryer; the springs very short; the autumn long and mild; but notwithstanding the length and severity of the winters, they are generally more clear, agreeable and healthy, than in *England*; but the summers less so, by reason of their great heat and sudden changes; which cause dysenteries, lingering and putrid fevers, with other dangerous distempers, in the latter part of summer, &c.

Tempera-
ture of the
air, &c.

The temperature of the air, and the nature of the weather, are much governed by the particular and variable winds, which prevail most in the different seasons: some of which have a very remarkable and sudden influence thereon, especially those in winter; which, during that part of the year, blow more from the west-northerly, than from any other quarter. These winds seldom fail to produce a clear sky, and a remarkable sharp cold, even, in every season of the year; as those from
the

the south-westerly are distinguished for producing haziness and warmth or heat in summer. But the eastern winds are frequent, and as much observed to bring on haziness, fogs, or clouds, and wet or falling weather, as the former are, for their respective cold and heat, with their peculiar dryness; and they are observed in later years to be more common and prevalent than formerly represented to have been.

Hence that temperature of the seasons, which is more peculiar to the insular, than to the continental parts of the world, and so remarkable in *Great Britain*, is not experienced here, by reason of the heats and colds being more intense, and sudden, often occasioned by the quick and uncertain shifting of the wind; which have a surprising effect on vegetation, and even on animal life itself, both to accelerate, and sometimes increase them, as well as to shorten their duration: for, as the vegetables are drawn up in a rapid manner (like plants under glasses, or in a very warm exposure, in colder climates) by the great and sudden heats, in the beginning of summer; whereby the very ground, more especially that which is higher than the rest, and most exposed to the sun, and parching dry winds, appears frequently, in a short time, to be exhausted of its virtue and goodness, or deprived of that fructifying quality, which nourishes plants and herbage: so they are often as suddenly cut down by the succeeding frosts, or destroyed by the severe cold, or want of moisture. And notwithstanding the spring commences at *Philadelphia* near a month later than about *London*, yet the harvest in *Pennsylvania* is a month earlier than in *England*; which renders that season very short in the former.

Extremes
of heat and
cold, with
their conse-
quences,
&c.

Violent gusts of thunder, wind and rain, are frequent in the warm seasons, with sudden cold after

after them, and a north west wind; which more often are consequent upon the intense heats. The snows are frequently very deep, in winter, and the frosts so intense, that it has not been very uncommon for the large river *Delaware*, even, where it is near a mile broad, to be frozen over in one night, so as to bear people walking upon the ice in the morning; which river sometimes, in the winter season, for several weeks together, even, opposite to *Philadelphia*, is as much frequented with loaded carriages of all sorts, bringing country produce upon the ice to the city, as any part of *terra firma*.*

Duration of
animal and
vegetable
life in Penn-
sylvania,
&c.

And experience demonstrates that the tenderness of a texture, either of the animal or vegetable kind, formed and nourished under so great a degree

* Thomas Makin, before mentioned, in his *Descriptio Pennsylvaniae*, anno 1729, speaks in the following manner, on the situation and temperature of Pennsylvania, viz.

“ Zonæ terra subest alternæ, ubi veris & æstûs
Autumni gelidæ sunt hyemisque vices.
Hîc ter quinque dies numerat longissimus horas,
Cum sol in cancro fidere transit iter.
Hîc tamen interdum glacialis frigora brumæ
Et calor æstivus vix toleranda premunt.
Sæpe sed immodicum boreale refrigerat æstum
Flamen, & australis mitigat aura gelu.
Hîc adeo inconstans est, & variabile cælum,
Una ut non rarò est æstus hyemsque die
Sæpe prior quamvis nitido sit sole ferena
Postera sit multis imbribus atra dies.
Vis adeo interdum venti violenta ruentis,
Ut multa in sylvis sternitur arbor humi.”
“ Cum fera sævit hiems glacie fluvialis & unda
Atque latet tellus undequæ tecta nive;
Circumclusa ratis, si non foret anchora, fixa est,
Dum rigidum solvat mitior aura gelu.
Et quamvis boreas gelido bacchatur ab arcto,
Inturbata tamen fluminis unda filet.
Usque adeo interdum fuit hîc durabile frigus,
Trans fluvium vidi plaustra onerata vehi.
Hîc tamen interdum totius tempore brumæ
Navibus hæc annis pervia præbet iter:
Cymbæque remigio velox, veloque frequenter
Advehit & revehit quæ via ducit onus.
Usque adeo incerta est, hîc & variabilis aura
Alternasque vices frigus & cæstus habet.”

Beneath

gree of heat, as predominates here in summer, is not so well able to bear these great changes, as it would otherwise be; for strangers, who remove hither from colder, or more northern latitudes, are observed generally to bear them better, at first, than the natives of the country, or such as have lived long in it; and the lives of both animals and vegetables, as they mostly arrive sooner at maturity, are generally of shorter duration, than in some of the more northern, or temperate climates; hence, in winter, every green thing of the gramineous kind appears to be entirely dead; and that beautiful verdure, which, in *England*, remains to adorn the ground round the year, is not to be seen here, in that season; and the effect of these great and sudden changes, even, in the

VOL. II.

[31]

human

“ Beneath the temp’rate zone the land doth lie,
Where heat and cold a grateful change supply.
To fifteen hours extends the longest day,
When sol in cancer points his fervid ray.
Yet here the winter season is severe;
And summer’s heat is difficult to bear:
But western winds oft cool the scorching ray,
And southern breezes warm the winter’s day.
Yet oft tho’ warm and fair the day begun,
Cold storms arise before the setting sun:
Nay, oft so quick the change, so great its pow’r,
As summer’s heat, and winter, in an hour!
So violent the wind, that oft the ground
With rooted trees is cover’d wide and round!”
“ When stormy winter whitens all below,
When woods and plains are hid in ice and snow,
The ships with icy chains are anchor’d fast,
Till the dissolving spring return at last;
Tho’ boreas rage, and stormy tempests blow,
The streams are silent and not seen to flow;
Sometimes the ice so strong and firm is found,
That waggons pass as on the solid ground.
But yet so temp’rate are some winters here,
That in the streams no icy chains appear;
And all the season boats and shipping may
With oar and sail divide the liquid way;
So various and uncertain is the clime
For heat and cold extreme, in little time,” &c.

human species itself, in various respects, is, in proportion, no less conspicuous, in this country.*

Nature of
the land
and soil, &c.

In a province of so large extent as that of *Pennsylvania*, the nature and quality of the land and soil must consequently be various; yet much more of a similarity, in this respect, runs through the whole of it, at least, so far as at present cultivated, than is to be found in the same extent, any where in *England*.

If the lands be divided into three parts, or kinds, according to the present application, use and suitableness of them, viz. *grazing*, *arable* and *barren*, or *least useful*, the first is but a very small proportion; and there is not much, that may properly be called very rich, or good grass land, in it (I mean so far as at present improved) when compared with that of some other countries, excepting near rivers, creeks, and runs of water; where in the vallies, and such low places as are enriched by the floods and washing down of the soil, from the hills and uplands, and longest retain moisture, the land is the most fertile, and commonly appropriated to grass: but then these places generally are more unhealthy, being very subject to agues, intermittent and slow fevers, while in the more elevated, poor and barren situations, which are less profitable to the cultivator, the inhabitants

* Dr. Douglas, in his summary historical and political, &c. of the *British settlements in America*, before mentioned, observes,

“ As *New England* lies in the leeward of the westerly extended continent of *North America*, the winds (being generally westerly) gliding continually along this vast tract of land, much heated in summer, and much cooled, or frozen, in winter, occasion the country to be much hotter in summer, and much cooler in winter, than in *Great Britain*: reciprocations, but not to extremes, are salutary to the constitution, where the transitions are gradual; thus we may observe in nature, that for the benefit of the earth's produce, there is a reciprocation of summer and winter, day and night, &c. In countries where the seasons are upon the extremes, in summer and winter, as in *New England*, constitutions do not wear well, analogous to the timber and plank of a ship between wind and water. Longevity appears mostly in *island countries*, where, with a small latitude, or variation, the temperature of the air continues nearly the same, &c.

habitants mostly enjoy a clearer air, and better state of health.

The second sort of land, which is far the greatest part of what is, at present, improved, is rather of a poor, shallow, or middling kind of soil; but, as much of it is of a strong, clayey, or loamy nature, and in some places abounds with limestone, it is mostly very capable of improvement, even after it has been much worn out by bad management, and is, for the most part, very suitable for grain; to which use it is chiefly applied, so far back in the country as improvement has hitherto advanced.

Of the third kind of land, in the province, which is of very little, or no value, it is difficult to ascertain the quantity; but, in divers places of the more remote and mountainous parts, no small proportion of the land is so broken, stony, rocky, or barren, as to be either from its present situation, not worth improving, or otherwise entirely incapable of culture; some places scarcely producing any tree, or vegetable, whatever; and others, at best, only those of the most dwarfish, or shrubby kind.

Face of the country, mountains, rivers, &c.

All the land situated south-westward of *Hudson's* or *North River*, to the north boundary of *Carolina*, in latitude $36\frac{1}{2}$, may be divided into different and regular stages; in which the first object to be observed, is a remarkable *rief* or *vein* of rocks, of the *talky*, or *isinglass* kind, arising generally a little higher than the adjoining land, and extending from *New York* city south-westerly, by the lower falls of *Delaware*, at *Trenton*; by those of *Schuylkill*, a little above *Philadelphia*; of *Susquehanna*, a few miles above the head of *Chesapeake* bay; and of *Gunpowder* and *Patapsco* rivers, in *Maryland*; of *Potomack*, *Rapahannock*, and *James River*,

See Lewis
Evans's
analysis, &c

River, in *Virginia*; and of *Roanoak* in *North Carolina*.

Lower
Plains,

This is supposed to have been a former maritime boundary of this part of *America*, and forms a very regular curve. The land between this *rief* and the sea, from the *Navesink* hills, near *Shrewsbury*, in *East Jersey*, south westward along the whole coast, may be denominated the *Lower Plains*; which consists of soil, washed down from above, and of sand, accumulated from the ocean.

Where these plains are not penetrated by rivers, they are white sea sand, about twenty feet deep, and entirely barren. But the borders of the rivers, which descend from the *uplands*, are rendered fertile by the soil washed down by the floods, and mixed with the sand, gathered from the sea: the substratum of sea mud, shells, and other foreign subjects, are a sufficient confirmation of this supposition.

Hence for forty or fifty miles inland from the sea shore, excepting as above, all the space from the *Navesinks* to *Cape Florida*, is entirely barren, where the wash, from the *upland*, has not enriched the borders of the rivers; or where some ponds, or defiles, have not furnished proper support for the growth of white cedars.

Vein of
clay, &c.

There is commonly a *vein* of clay seaward of the *Isinglass Rief*, from three to four miles wide; which is a coarse *fuller's earth*; and, with a proper mixture of loam, is excellently well adapted for bricks: at, or near, which vein of clay, that part of *Pennsylvania*, which is nearest the sea, or from about *Trenton*, on *Delaware*, to the borders of *Maryland*, in general commences; and *Philadelphia* is partly situated upon it.

From this *rief* of rocks, over which all the rivers fall, (as before mentioned) to that chain of broken hills, commonly called the *South Mountain*,

tain, there is a space of very uneven ground, extending, in different places, fifty, sixty, or seventy miles, and rising sensibly on advancing further inland; which space may be denominated the *upland*. This consists of veins of different kinds of soil and substrata, for some scores of miles in length; and, in some places it is overlaid with little chains of hills. The declivity of the whole gives a great rapidity to the streams of water; where the violent gusts of wind and rain, to which the climate, in hot seasons, is very subject, have washed, or wore, it much into gullies, and carried down the soil, to enrich the borders of the rivers, in the *lower plains*. These steep inequalities render much of the country not easily capable of culture; whereby it is likewise impoverished, by reason of the almost continual washing away of the richer mould, that covers the surface.

The upland
&c.

The *South Mountain* is not in ridges, like the *Endless Mountains*, so called, but in small, broken, steep, stony hills; nor does it run with so much regularity. In some places it gradually diminishes to nothing, not appearing again for some miles; and, in others, it spreads several miles in breadth. Between the *South Mountain*, and the high chain of the *Endless Mountains*, (often for distinction, called the *North Mountain*, and in some places, the *Kittatinni* and *Pequélin*) there is a valley of pretty even good land, from eight to ten or twenty miles wide, which is perhaps some of the best land, if not the most considerable quantity of it, that the *English* at present, (about the year 1753, when most of these observations, on the face of the country, were made and published by *Lewis Evans* of *Philadelphia*) are possessed of, or have improved; it runs through *New Jersey*, *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*; and is every where enriched with limestone.

South
Mountain,
&c.

The

Endless
Mountains,
&c.

The *Endless Mountains*, which is the *Indian* name translated, and expressive of their unknown extent, are the next in order, and make the *fourth stage*. They are not confusedly scattered, in lofty peaks, over-topping one another, but stretch in long uniform ridges, scarce half a mile perpendicular, in any place, above the intermediate vallies. In some places, as towards the *Kaats-Kill* mountains, near the head of *Delaware* river, in *New York* government, and the head of *Roanoak*, in the south west part of *Virginia*, they appear to terminate; but, in a little space, they spread out again into new branches, apparently as extensive as before. The further chain, or *Allegheny* ridge of mountains, keeps mostly on a parallel with the *Isinglass Rief*, and terminates in a rough, stony place, at the head of *Roanoak* and *New River*, on the borders of *Virginia*, and *Carolina*. The more easterly chains, as they run further southward, trend, or spread themselves more and more westerly; whereby the *upland* and *rich valley*, before mentioned, are so much wider in *Virginia*, than further north; and which causes them to meet and intersect the *Allegheny* mountains.

Some chains of these mountains are single narrow ridges; as the *Kittatinni*; some spread two or three miles broad, on the top; others steep on one side, and extend with a long slope, on the other; and the steeper they are, the more rocky; but they are every where woody, where the soil is proper and sufficient to support the trees. Towards the further ridges, north eastward, the mountains consist of rich land; and in some places, they are only as large as broad banks, three or four miles across. In the way to *Ohio*, by *Franks Town*, in *Pennsylvania*, being past the *Allegheny* mountains, the ground is rough, in many places, and continues so to the river. Near this place the *Lawrel Hill* springs from the mountains, and continues,

Lawrel
Hill, &c.

tinues, though not large, in a very regular chain, it is thought, to the *Ouasioto* mountain, or the southern branches of the *Ohio*. For though the *Allegenny* is the most westerly, on the west branch of *Susquehanna* river, in *Pennsylvania*, yet it is far from being so in *Virginia*. Except the further ridges, last mentioned, there is but little good land in the mountains; and not one-tenth part is capable of culture; but what small quantity there is, consists of extreme rich soil, in lawns on the river sides; being so much rich mud subsided there, and commonly gathered above falls, formerly in drowned lands, and now drained, by the rivers wearing channels through the rocks.

Not much
good land
in the
mountains,
&c.

To the north westward of the *Endless Mountains* is a country of vast extent, and, in a manner, as high as the mountains themselves. The abrupt termination thereof, near the sea level, as, on the west side of *Hudson's*, or *North* river, below *Albany*, appears like a very high mountain. For *Kaats-Kills*, though of more lofty stature than any other mountains, in these parts of *America*, are but the continuation of the plains, on the top; and the cliffs of them, in the front, they represent towards *Kinderhook*. These upper plains consist of extraordinary rich land, and extend from the *Mohocks* river through the country of the *Confederate*, or *Six Nation*, *Indians*. Their termination northward is at a little distance from lake *Ontario*, near latitude 43° ; but where it is westward is unknown; for those most extensive plains of *Ohio* are part of them, which continue to widen, as they extend further westward, even far beyond the *Mississippi*; and their boundary southward is a little chain of broken hills, about ten or fifteen miles south of the river *Ohio*.

Upper
Plains.

The *Delaware* and *Susquehanna*, rivers of *Pennsylvania*, at, or near their heads, approach, as is supposed,

Of the tide
in these ri-
vers, &c.

supposed, within less than thirty or forty miles of Hudson's, or New York river; and so near to the former does the tide flow up the last mentioned river; whereas the *Delaware* runs, perhaps, about one hundred and fifty miles, and the *Susquehanna*, probably, near two hundred miles, down their channels, before they meet the tide; which phenomenon is easily explained, when it is considered, that the *Delaware* and *Susquehanna* have their heads in these plains, and Hudson's, or North River, has the tide at the foot, or bottom of them.

Salt marshes, &c.

The flat country, *lower plains*, which lies between the falls and the sea, is, for the most part, well watered with beautiful bays, rivers and creeks, navigable for all sorts of vessels. All the creeks on *Delaware* bay, the verges of the sounds, which extend along the sea coast, and some creeks in *Virginia*, and towards the head of *Chesapeake* bay, on the west side, are bordered with *salt marshes*; some a mile or two wide.

Advantage of the hilly country, &c.

Those parts of *New Jersey*, *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, between the *Isinglass Vein*, and the *North Mountain*, slope towards the sea with great declivity; whereby the rivers and rivulets have great rapidity, and are excellently well adapted for all sorts of mills, turned by water; a great advantage to some of these middle colonies, where bread and flour are the staple of commerce. In the *Endless Mountains* the rivers are generally stony and rapid; and, in some places, where interrupted with reefs of rocks, not yet worn to the level, they fall in *cataracts*; and above such places they are generally dead and flow, or spread in ponds, and drown the surrounding lands. In the *elevated flats*, which form the country of the *Confederate*, or *Six Nation*, *Indians*, and on the *Ohio*, the rivers are generally easy in their currents; and as that country is of vast extent, they are large and

and excellently accommodated for inland navigation.

Part of the east end of *lake Erie* is said to be within the bounds of *Pennsylvania*; it being supposed to be rather south of, or within, the 42d degree of north latitude, and between four and five degrees of longitude west from *Philadelphia*. It is a beautiful fresh water lake; is said to have a fine sandy shore on the north, as well as in many places on the other sides of it, especially towards the south east part, bordering on *Pennsylvania*. The weather and temperature of the air is accounted more moderate there, than at *lake Ontario*, (at whose east end is *Oswego*, in latitude $43^{\circ} 17' N.$) and the other great lakes; which are all situated further north; it extends perhaps two hundred and fifty miles east and west, and near sixty or seventy north and south; it communicates with the lake *Ontario*, on the north east part of it, by the straits and cataract of *Niagara*; and on the north west, with the lake *Huron*, by a strait called by the French *Detroit*, passable by large vessels.

The water, or straits of *Niagara*, at the place of the famous and stupendous fall, or cataract, of that name, is said to run from S. S. E. to N. N. W. where the rocks, which form the great fall, extend in a semicircle one thousand and eighty feet across it. This fall is asserted to be one hundred and thirty-seven feet perpendicular; and to be sometimes heard at the distance of fifteen leagues: most of the water, which runs from these large lakes, on the N. W. viz. *Lake Superior*, *Lake Michigan*, *Lake Huron*, and *Lake Erie*, passes this fall, in its way to *Lake Ontario*, and from thence to the river *St. Lawrence*.

Hudson's, or *North River*, at whose entrance stands the city of *New York*, in north latitude $40^{\circ} 42' \frac{1}{2}$, has the tide and a good depth of water, for

Lake Erie,
&c.

See Car-
ver's tra-
vels, &c.

Straits and
fall of Nia-
gara.

See P.
Kalm's tra-
vels, &c.

Hudson's
or North
River.

sloops, to *Albany*, near one hundred and fifty miles, into the *upland*, in a north direction; and opens communication with the inland parts of the continent, of very great importance; while all the rivers south-westward, as before observed, are navigable by sea vessels in the *lower flats* only.

Delaware
river, &c.

Delaware river, which divides *Pennsylvania* from *New Jersey*, from its head, in latitude about $42^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ north, down to *Trenton* falls, with all its curves and windings, forms a general course nearly north and south, but a little westward, of above one hundred and fifty miles; and in that space is said to have fourteen considerable *riffs*, principally below *Easton*, in *Northampton* county; yet all passable at times, in the long flat boats, used in the navigation of these parts; some of them carrying from five to six hundred bushels of wheat. The worst *riffs*, or those called *falls*, are fourteen miles above *Easton*; and from thence, in different places, for the space of thirty miles, down to *Trenton*; yet these are all surmounted in *fresbes*, or in *floods*, by the boats, as far as from the *Menefinks*.*

West
branch of
Delaware.

The west branch of *Delaware*, called the *Lehi*, which goes off at *Easton*, and waters the county of *Northampton*, is but inconsiderable, compared with the north east branch, already described. From *Trenton*, where the river meets the tide, to *Philadelphia*, the *Delaware* runs about thirty miles, navigable for sea vessels; and from *Philadelphia* to the sea, it is above one hundred miles, along the course of the river and bay; first, in a south west, and then in a south east direction; the river is near a mile broad at the city of *Philadelphia*.

Sculkil
river, &c.

Sculkil is a fine branch of the *Delaware*; into which it falls about four miles below *Philadelphia*;

* The north station point, on the east side of *Delaware*, from which the line, which divides the government of *New York* from *New Jersey*, is drawn, to *Hudson's*, or *New York*, river, is in north latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$, and above the *Menefinks*.

phia ; and up which the tide flows about five miles above the city, to the falls ; three or four miles above which *falls* are others ; all passable with large boats, in freshes, down to the city. From these *falls* to *Reading*, in the county of *Berks*, for forty or fifty miles into the interior parts of the province, through the counties of *Philadelphia* and *Berks*, it forms a fine gliding stream, easily set against, or overcome, with poles ; as the bottom is generally even ; and in moderate seasons, will furnish fifteen or sixteen inches of water, at least, in the shallowest places, all the way : it is capable of much improvement, for the advantage of both town and country.*

There are besides a considerable number of navigable streams, or creeks, which run into the *Delaware*, both on the *Jersey* and *Pennsylvania* sides of it, both above and below *Philadelphia* ; which afford an easy conveyance of country produce to that city ; but, in general, they are navigable only with small vessels, for a short distance into the country.

Delaware bay is said to be sixty miles long, from the capes to the entrance of the river at *Bombay* Delaware bay, &c. *Hook* ; and so wide in some places, that a ship, in the middle of it, cannot be seen from the land. It opens into the *Atlantic Ocean* south east, between cape *Hinlopen* on the west, and cape *May*, on the east ; these capes are about eighteen miles distant from each other ; the former in the territories of *Pennsylvania*, and the latter in *New Jersey*. Of the streams, which empty into this bay, *Maurice* river, in *New Jersey*, is accounted one of the largest ; and is said to be navigable for vessels of one hundred tons fifteen miles, and for shallops, or small vessels, ten miles further.

This

* Or *Schuyl-Kill* (i. e. hidden creek, or channel) called also *Skoolkill* ; and by the native Indians, *Manijunk*, according to an old Swedish MS.

This bay and river are said to have been named from the title of—*West*, Lord *de la war*, Governor of *Virginia*, about the year 1611; but the Indian name, according to an old Swedish manuscript, was *Poutaxat*.

Susqua-
hanna river
&c.

Susquahanna river rises beyond the north boundary of *Pennsylvania*, from two small lakes, in about 43° north latitude, and eastward of *Philadelphia*, in the government of *New York*; it runs thence a considerable way southward, and then south westward, in a very crooked, or winding course, into the interior parts of *Pennsylvania*; then turning eastward, it continues in a south east direction, till it enters *Maryland*; whence, proceeding a few miles, within that province, it afterwards falls into the upper part, or head, of *Chesapeak* bay, after a course of, perhaps, about two hundred and fifty miles, being above a mile wide in some places near its mouth; but much of it shallow, in proportion to its breadth. It is navigable for *canoes* quite from the lakes, at the head of it, to the falls of *Conewago*, in *York* county. There are no falls in the upper part of the river, till about three miles below *Wilmington*, in *Northumberland* county; but from thence to *Conewago* there are several. The falls of *Conewago* are the worst; and below these are several others. By reason of these falls this large river has no continued inland navigation to near its mouth; nor for sea vessels above miles from the head of the bay.

The most considerable branches of the *Susquahanna* are *Owego*, *Tobicon* or *Cayuga*, *Senashe*, or *West Branch*, *Juniata*, *Swaiara*, *Conewago*, and *Codorus*, which waters *Yorktown*; and *Conestogo*, which runs by, or near, *Lancaster*. *Tobicon* promises well for a good navigation with *canoes*, to near the head of

Note. *Owego* is in north latitude $41^{\circ} 55'$.

Shamokin near the junction of the East and West Branches of *Susquehanna*, is in latitude $40^{\circ} 40'$.

of *Allegenny* river; it being a large and gentle stream. The *West Branch* is said to be shallow and rapid, but has scarce any falls in it. *Juniata*, which runs through *Cumberland* county, is said to be a fine navigable stream for a great distance.

The large and beautiful bay of *Chesapeak* may properly be called the bay of *Susquahanna*, though all the large rivers of *Maryland* and *Virginia* likewise empty themselves into it. This bay is said to be near one hundred leagues in length, to the sea; and in some places near twenty miles broad, interspersed with islands, and navigable for large ships, the whole length of it.

Between this bay and that of *Delaware*, is situated the *peninsula*, which is composed of the three lower counties on *Delaware*, or the territories of *Pennsylvania*, on the east, and part of *Maryland*, on the west and south, with that part of *Virginia*, on the most southern part of it, which is called *Accomac*, &c.

The length of this *peninsula* north and south, from the most southern point of cape *Charles*, in latitude about $37^{\circ} 12'$ to the head of *Chesapeak* bay, near latitude $39^{\circ} 35'$, is probably about one hundred and seventy miles; its breadth near *Lewistown*, or cape *Hinlopen*, is about seventy miles; but from thence it decreases in breadth both northward and southward; so that opposite to *Reedy Island*, or near the head of *Chesapeak*, it is only about twenty-five miles broad.

The many navigable waters, or creeks, on each side of this *peninsula*, which run into their respective bays, on the east and west, are of great advantage here; some of which are described, as follows:

Large sloops may pass to *Snow Hill*, on *Pokomoke* river, or creek, which runs into the lower part of *Chesapeak* bay; the portage is five miles from

Chesapeak bay, &c.

Peninsula between the bays, &c.

Navigable creeks, &c. See Lewis Evans's analysis, &c.

from thence to *Sinepuxen* sound, on the sea, where ships may come.

Shallops may go up *Nanticoke* river, from the lower part of the same bay, near twenty miles into the *Delaware* counties; the portage from thence to *Indian* river, which runs into the sea below *Lewis Town*, is about thirteen miles, and to *Broad Creek* twelve.

Choptank, in *Maryland*, is navigable for shallops to the bridge, about six or seven miles within the *Delaware* counties; and the portage to *Motherkill*, which runs into the middle of *Delaware* bay, is fifteen miles.

From *Chester* or *Newton*, river, in the same province, to *Salisbury*, on *Duck* creek, which runs into the *Delaware*, below *Reedy Island*, the portage is thirteen miles: and from *Sassafras* river there is another portage to the same place, thirteen miles also.

From *Frederick* town to *Sassafras* river, in *Maryland*, where good ships may come, there is a portage to *Cantwell's* bridge, on *Apoquiminy*, which runs into *Delaware* near *Reedy Island*, fourteen miles.

From *Bohemia* river, in the same province, where large flats, or small shallops may come, the portage to *Cantwell's* bridge, being low ground, is only eight miles.* All these creeks, which run into the *Delaware*, will receive large shallops, but no larger vessels.

Christeen
and Bran-
dywine
creeks, &c.

From the head of *Elk* river, where shallops may come from the upper part of *Chesapeak* bay, in

* *N. B.* This is much frequented; and as the ground, in this place, is very low, so that a canal may be easily made here at a small expence, in proportion to the certain and great advantage, which might arise; whereby a navigable communication to *Philadelphia*, from *Maryland* and *Virginia*, with the western parts of *Pennsylvania*, might be effected without going to sea; which undoubtedly would raise the value of the lands in these provinces, and advance their commercial interest by increasing the markets for their produce, and giving a spring to industry, &c.

in *Maryland*, the portage is twelve miles to *Christeen* bridge, in *Newcastle* county; from which place *Christeen* creek is navigable, by the south side of *Wilmington*, to *Delaware* river; and is capable of sea vessels of above one hundred tons burden several miles above *Wilmington*; a little below which place before it enters the *Delaware*, it is joined by the *Brandywine*; a creek, which has its course on the north side of *Wilmington*, distant about a mile from *Christeen*, and extends into the interior parts of *Chester* county, in *Pennsylvania*. This creek is not navigable above the rocks, or falls, two or three miles distant from its mouth, and nearly opposite to *Wilmington*, where it has a good bridge over it, on the road to *Philadelphia*, distant about twenty-seven miles; but this stream is not the less useful, in this corn country, for the many excellent grist mills, situated upon the sides of it, especially near *Wilmington*, called the *Brandywine* mills; where the tide, with convenient shipping, come up to the very doors of divers of them.

Mills of
Brandy-
wine, &c.

This creek and that of *Wissahiccon*, which runs into *Sculkil*, a little above *Philadelphia*, are noted for the best, and most numerous grist mills, either in this province, or any other part of *British America*, within the same extent of country; and which, perhaps, are not inferior in quality to any in the world.

And of
Wissahic-
con.

Potowmack river, which runs into *Chesapeak* bay, and divides *Maryland* from *Virginia*, is very broad, and navigable for large ships, as far as *Alexandria*, about perhaps one hundred miles from the bay; and is likely in future to become a very important, if not the sole water carriage from the country about the head of *Ohio*, to the ocean, in this part of *America*.

Potow-
mack river.

Allegenny

Allegheny
and Ohio
rivers.

Frederick
Post's jour-
nal, &c.

Allegheny river takes its rise near latitude 42° northward of *Pennsylvania*, and about two or three degrees of longitude west from Philadelphia; afterwards it runs many miles within that province, first south-westerly to *Venango*, and then more southerly to *Pittsburg*, where being joined by the *Monongahela*, a very large stream, it thence takes the name of *Ohio*, and turning westerly proceeds to the *Mississippi*. But both these names, *Allegheny* and *Ohio*, originally signify the same thing, in different *Indian* languages; *Ohio* in the *Seneca*, and *Allegheny*, in the *Delaware Indian* language, signifies the *Fine*, or *Fair River*; and the whole stream, from its head, to its junction with the *Mississippi*, was so denominated by these respective *Indian* nations.

When the winter snows thaw, in the spring, this river is said to rise, in some places, more than twenty feet perpendicular; but scarce ever overflows its high banks. It keeps a great uniformity of breadth, gradually increasing from two or three furlongs, at *Pittsburg*, to near a mile; and still growing so much larger before it reaches the *Mississippi*, that its breadth, depth and easy current are supposed to equal those of any river in *Europe*, except the *Danube*.

PART

Note. Shanoppin's town, an Indian settlement on the *Allegheny*, near *Pittsburg*, is said to be in north latitude $40^{\circ} 26'$ and is supposed to be about five degrees of longitude west from the *Delaware* at *Philadelphia*, the extent of *Pennsylvania* east and west.

The north east branch of the *Allegheny* is said to interlock with the *Caiuga* branch of *Susquehanna*.

PART II.

The chorography,—division into counties,—principal towns,—produce and chief staple of the country, with its great increase and variety.—Trade and commerce.—Present inhabitants; their great increase, &c.—City of Philadelphia.—Other considerable towns, &c.—Internal police, and courts of judicature in Pennsylvania, with the public officers in 1772.

HAVING thus far given a general account of the soil, face of the country, mountains, rivers, &c. besides the geographical description of the province, in respect to its situation and extent, as expressed in the royal charter, and in the dispute between *Penn* and *Baltimore*, in the preceding history, by which its real extent, north and south, appears to be no more than about one hundred and fifty-seven miles, instead of two hundred and eight, as intended by charter, and about two hundred and sixty east and west, it may be proper, in the next place, to exhibit a sketch of the divisions, into which the settled or improved and located part of it is formed, &c.

The settled, and located part of *Pennsylvania*, which, perhaps, is near two-thirds of the province, is now divided into *eleven counties*; and each of these again is subdivided into a number of townships. The counties situated between the rivers *Delaware* and *Susquahanna* are called the counties of *Philadelphia*, *Bucks*, *Chester*, *Lancaster*, *Berks*, and *Northampton*; the counties on the west side of

Number
and names
of the coun-
ties in
Pennsylvania.

Susquahanna are those of *York*, *Cumberland*, *Bedford*, and *Westmoreland*; which is the last established, and extends westward as far as *Pittsburg*, inclusive, or to the western boundary of the province; which boundary, though not yet absolutely fixed, is supposed to be so far west, at least, or near that place: these, with the county of *Northumberland*, situated on both sides of *Susquahanna*, northward, and upon the forks of that river, are all the counties, which are yet ascertained: but the more northern, and north west parts of *Pennsylvania*, being not yet taken up, or purchased from the *Indians*, remain still in their possession, though they are here supposed to be included in the exterior back counties.

The three first mentioned counties of *Philadelphia*, *Bucks* and *Chester*, with those of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, on *Delaware* (which last are already described in another place) were laid out and named by the Proprietary *William Penn*, in conjunction with the first and early purchasers, when he was the first time in the country. The boundaries, or division lines, of the three former, are said to have been fixed according to his mind, or direction, signified to some of his friends, before he left the province, and afterwards confirmed by the provincial Council, on the first day of the second month, 1685.*

The

* " At a council held at *Philadelphia* first of second month, 1685, present, *Thomas Holme*, President, and nine others: the line of separation between the counties of *Philadelphia* and *Bucks*, and of *Philadelphia* and *Chester*, were now confirmed, according to the Proprietary's intention, signified to some of his friends while here.

" The county of *Chester* was to begin at the mouth, or entrance of *Bough Creek*, upon *Delaware* river, being the upper end of *Tenecum* island; and so up that creek, dividing the said island from the land of *Andrew Boone* and company; from thence along the several courses thereof, to a large creek, called *Mill-creek*; from thence, along the several courses of the said creek, to a west-south-west line; which line divides the liberty lands of *Philadelphia* from several tracts of land, belonging to the *Welsh* and other inhabitants; and from thence east-north-east, by a line of marked trees one hundred and twenty perches, more or less; from thence north-

The south east boundary of these three counties is the river *Delaware*; which river likewise is the north east limit of *Bucks* county, as the circular line, drawn twelve miles distant from *Newcastle* northward and westward from the river *Delaware*, with part of the north boundary of *Maryland*, is that of the county of *Chester*, on the south. They are now bounded on the west, and north west, by the counties of *Lancaster*, *Berks* and *Northampton*.

Boundaries of the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester.

These three counties, of which *Philadelphia* is in the middle, *Bucks* on the north east, and *Chester* on the south west of it, extend about seventy miles in length, north east, from the *Maryland* line, to the *Delaware*, on the upper, or north east side of *Bucks* county, and about forty miles in breadth, north westward from the *Delaware*, at *Philadelphia*, to their north west boundary, which has nearly a north east, and south west direction. *Chester* county is considerably the largest of the three; *Bucks* is smaller than that of *Philadelphia*, but there is not much difference in the size and extent

Their situation, &c.

north-north-west by *Haverford* township one thousand perches, more or less; from thence east-north-east by the land belonging to *John Humphrey*, one hundred and ten perches, more or less; from thence north-north-west by the land of *John Eckley*, eight hundred and eighty perches, more or less; from thence continuing said course to the bounds of *Sculkil* river; which said *Sculkil* river afterward to be the natural bounds,

“ The line between *Bucks* and *Philadelphia* counties was more particularly set forth in a proclamation, agreed on at a council, held the eighth of the second month, this year, *Thomas Lloyd*, President.

“ To begin at the mouth of *Poetqueffing* creek, on *Delaware* river, and to go up thence along the said creek, and by the several courses thereof to a south west and north east line; which said line divides the land belonging to *Joseph Growdon* and company, from *Southampton* township; from thence by a line of marked trees, along the said line one hundred and twenty perches, more or less; from thence north west by a line of marked trees; which said line, in part, divided the land, belonging to *Nicholas Moore* from *Southampton* and *Warminster* townships, confirming said line so far as the said county shall extend.” MS.

Note. Adjoining, or near, the lower side of *Poetqueffing* creek, on the side of the *Delaware*, is an elevated piece of ground, said to have been first intended for the situation of the city, till maturer consideration determined the place for that purpose where *Philadelphia* now stands. MS.

extent of these two counties, though the latter contains many more inhabitants than any other county in the province, on account of the city of *Philadelphia* being within its limits. The capitals of the other two counties are the old borough towns of *Bristol* in *Bucks*, and *Chester* in *Chester* county; both situated on the river *Delaware*; the former about twenty miles north east, and the latter fifteen miles south west from *Philadelphia*, being noted for several good *inns*, for the accommodation and entertainment of travellers; but they both have appeared in late years, to be on the decline; and the county courts, for *Bucks* county, have for some years past, been held at *Newtown*, in the said county.

Lancaster
county, &c.

Lancaster county, which before was the north west part of *Chester* county, was established by law, in the year 1729; bounded by *Octoraro* creek, which running into *Susquahanna*, divides it from *Chester* county, and by part of the *Maryland* line, on the south; and on the eastward, by a line running from the north branch of the said creek, north easterly, to the river *Sculkil*: it is now limited at about sixty miles in length north west and south east, and in breadth north east and south west, about thirty miles; having the river *Susquahanna* on the south west and north west, and the county of *Berks* on the north east of it. Its capital is the borough of *Lancaster*, situated about one mile from *Conestogo* creek, which runs into *Susquahanna* river. It is about sixty-six miles west from *Philadelphia*, and consists of about seven hundred dwelling houses, besides other buildings; but this county contains several other considerable towns,

York coun-
ty, &c.

York county, on the west side of *Susquahanna*, was established by law in 1749; when it was separated from *Lancaster* county, and bounded northward and westward by a line run from the river *Susquahanna*, along the ridge of the South Mountain,

tain, till it intersects the *Maryland* line; southward by the said *Maryland* line; and eastward by the river *Susquahanna*; which divides it from *Lancaster* county. This county is almost of a triangular form; whose longest side, next *Maryland*, is about sixty miles; the other two sides about fifty miles each. It now has *Cumberland* county on the north west. Its capital is *York* town, containing about four hundred dwelling houses, situated on *Codorus* creek, which runs into *Susquahanna*, and is about eighty-six miles westward from *Philadelphia*.

Cumberland county, westward of *Susquahanna*, and north-westward of the county of *York*, was divided from *Lancaster* county, and established by law in 1749; then bounded northward and westward by the line, or boundary, of the province, and eastward partly by the river *Susquahanna*, which divides it from *Lancaster* county; and by the county of *York*, and the *Maryland* line, or boundary on the south; it now has *Bedford* county, on the west, and part of *Northumberland* on the north of it. It is of an irregular figure extending about seventy miles in length north and south, and in breadth east and west about fifty in the broadest, and twenty miles in the narrowest part. Its chief town, *Carlisle*, is about one hundred and twenty miles north-north-west from *Philadelphia*, situated near *Conedogwinet* creek; which runs into *Susquahanna*: it is a good town, but not so large as *York*, or *Reading*.

Cumberland county, &c.

Berks county, which before was included in the north part of the counties of *Philadelphia*, *Chester* and *Lancaster*, was established by law in 1752; being then bounded and divided from these counties by a line at the distance of ten miles south west from the western bank of the river *Sculkil*, opposite to the mouth of a creek, called *Monocacy*; thence north west to the extremity of the

Berks county, &c.

the province ; and south east, till it intersects the line of *Chester* county ; then by a right line, crossing the river *Sculkil*, to the upper, or north westward, line of *M'Call's* manor ; then along the said line to the extremity thereof ; and continuing the same course to the line dividing *Philadelphia* and *Bucks* counties ; then along the said line north west to the extent of the county aforesaid.

This county, at present, has that of *Lancaster*, on the south west, *Northumberland* on the north west, *Northampton* on the north east, and those of *Philadelphia* and *Chester* on the south east. It is about fifty miles long north west and south east, and thirty broad north east and south west. Its principal town is *Reading*, situated on, or near, the river *Sculkil*, about fifty-six miles north west from *Philadelphia*. “ In the year 1751 it contained one hundred and thirty dwelling houses, besides stables and other buildings, one hundred and six families, three hundred and seventy-eight inhabitants, though about two years before it had not above one house in it.” It is now near three times as large, and contains about as many houses, &c. as *York*.

Northampton county,
&c.

Northampton county, which before was included in the north west part of *Bucks* county, was divided from it, and established by law in 1752 : it was then bounded and separated from the said county of *Bucks*, by the upper, or north westward line of *Durham* tract, to the upper corner thereof ; then by a right line south westerly, to the line dividing *Philadelphia* and *Bucks* counties, and then by that line to the extremity of the province. But this county, at present, has that of *Northumberland* on the north west, and *Berks* on the south west of it ; and it is bounded by the *Delaware*, on the south east and north east. It extends in length, north east and south west about seventy miles, and is perhaps forty miles broad,
north

north west and south east. *Easton* is its capital town, situated in the forks of *Delaware*, about sixty miles north from *Philadelphia*.

The other three are frontier counties, in the back parts of the province, next the *Indians*: they were laid out but very lately, and, as yet, are but thinly inhabited, and little improved, being the most remote from the capital of the province.

The natural, or original produce of *Pennsylvania*, in regard to animals and vegetables, or trees and fruits, as well as the original inhabitants, &c. has already, in part, been mentioned, in *William Penn's* account of them, in the preceding history: *maize*, or *Indian* corn, is an original; and *strawberries*, with *grapes*, of various kinds, grow natural in the woods, as well as *mulberries*, &c. Deer, among the quadrupeds, and wild turkeys, among the winged tribe, were formerly very plentiful, but now scarce, &c.

Produce of
Pennsylvania.

But most kinds of *European* grain and fruits, as well as domestic, or tame animals, have been naturalized here; some of the fruits have been meliorated by the change, while others degenerate. But the principal staple of *Pennsylvania* and its vicinity, is *wheat*, *flour*, *rye*, *Indian* corn, &c. which will appear in the following account of exports from the port of *Philadelphia*, where the trade of the province principally centers.

The ground abounds with *iron ore*, in many places, as well as with *marble* and *limestone*, &c. in others; from the former of which, great quantities of pig and bar iron, castings, &c. are made both for exportation and home use. But the woods have hitherto been still more remarkable for their abundance of timber, not only for home consumption, and ship building, but also for the various articles, exported under the name of lumber, &c.

in

in which it is said there are above seventeen different species, or varieties, of oak alone, &c.

Produce
and staple
of Penn-
sylvania.

It is supposed that, at least, two-thirds, if not three-fourths, of the cleared, or improved lands, at this time, are arable. The soil, in general, being naturally more adapted for grain, than grass; wheat, rye and Indian corn suit it well. Other grain, as barley, oats, &c. being here mostly of inferior quality to those of some other parts of the world, are more seldom raised in very considerable quantity, in this province: *Indian corn* and *buckwheat* supplying the use of these in divers respects.

The country abounds with excellent mills, turned by water, for various purposes, but chiefly for grinding of grain ; for which it is well adapted, by reason of its uneven surface, many hills, rivulets, or creeks, so that generally more flour and bread, in latter years, have been exported from hence, than wheat, or grain, unmanufactured : besides, the quantity of flaxseed annually raised here, and shipped to *Ireland*, has been very considerable ; as well as that of *barrelled pork*, to the *West Indies*, and other markets, &c.

Its increase,
&c.

The gradual increase of a part only of the principal staple of Pennsylvania, appears by the following account of the annual value of wheat, flour and flaxseed alone exported from the port of *Philadelphia* in the years mentioned, taken from the journals of Assembly and other authentic documents, *viz.*

In 1731, when wheat was 2/6 per bushel, and
flaxseed about 4/8½ £. 62,584 0 1

In 1749, when wheat was 5/3 per bushel, and
flaxseed about 10/8½ £. 148,104 4 11

In 1750, when wheat was 4s per bushel, and
flaxseed about 10s

	£. 155,174 19 6
--	-----------------

In

In 1751, when wheat was 3/10 per bushel, and
flaxseed about 6/6½ £. 187,457 11 1

In 1765, when wheat was 5/3 per bushel, and
flaxseed about 9/3 £. 422,614 0 0

In 1772,* when wheat was 5/6 per bushel, and
flaxseed about 8/ £. 571,050 0 0

In which account it is manifest that the value
of these exports was nearly trebled every twenty
years.

The export from Philadelphia in 1774, in grain,
flour and bread alone, was computed to be equal to
about 2,170,000 bushels; of which 140,000 bushels
consisted of *Indian* corn, the whole at five shillings
per bushel, amounts to £. 542,500, in value;
and if the quantity of flaxseed was equal to that of
the next preceding year, it would make the whole
value amount to above £. 600,000, in these par-
ticular articles alone, at a very moderate compu-
tation.

VOL. II.

[34]

The

* See the exports of the two last years further on in page 269 and 271.
In 1772, the flour alone consisted of 282,872 barrels, averaging about
2 Cwt. each, here computed at six bushels per barrel. But if the flour
be estimated at 20/ per Cwt. the value of that one article alone will be
£. 565,744, exclusive of the other articles of bread, wheat and flaxseed,
which, with the *Indian* corn exported that year, will make the whole
amount, in these articles, above £. 700,000, in 1772.

Note. The quantity of grain, flour and bread only (including *Indian*
corn) exported from *British America*, in the year 1774, as published in
the *Pennsylvania* journal of July 5th, 1775, when reduced to bushels,
amounted to about five millions and an half, proportioned nearly, as
follows:

From Virginia above	-	-	1,000,000 bushels.
Maryland near	-	-	600,000
Philadelphia above	-	-	2,100,000
New York near	-	-	1,500,000
Quebec	-	-	350,000

Total 5,550,000 bushels.

It may be further noted, that the quantity of corn exported from *En-
gland*, upon an average of 19 years, preceding 1765, according to the
accounts said to be laid before the parliament, and preserved in the tracts
on corn trade, is 730,000 quarters, or 5,840,000 bushels which, at
£. 1 1s. 3d. 1-2 sterling per quarter, amounts to £. 776,720 sterling per
annum.

“ By

Grafs lands,
&c.

The grafs lands in the first fettled, or old counties, are but a small proportion, and are chiefly situated on the sides of rivers, creeks and rivulets, or moist places, where, at times, they are partly overflowed, being mostly very rich, and produce abundance, but of a rapid growth. Of this kind are the large quantities of fine low meadows, near and about *Philadelphia*; which, being secured by banks from the tides and floods of the *Delaware*, and the creeks which run into it (by which they were formerly overflowed, and rendered usefess) are of very great and extraordinary advantage to that city.

Fruits.

Large orchards of *apple-trees* are propagated in almost every plantation; which every where produce great quantities of fine, large, well flavoured fruit; and in some places *peaches* are so common and plentiful, that the country people feed their hogs with them; likewise *cherries*, of various kinds, are no less abundant and good. But, though *cyder* is the common drink of this country, and very plentiful and easy to be procured, yet it is not made by the inhabitants to such perfection as it is capable of. Besides, *Lisbon* and *Madeira* wines, among the higher rank, and *West India* rum and spirits are much drank, in mixture, by the people in general. And sometimes a kind of weak beverage is used, made of a mixture of molasses,

Liquors,

“ By the best calculations, the corn which is exported is only about the fix and thirtieth part of what is raised in the nation, for an average of the last sixty-eight years.

Tracts on corn trade, &c. page 144.

“ In the year 1750 were exported 1,500,220 quarters of corn from England, or above twelve millions of bushels; which quantity exceeds that of the seed one-twelfth part.

“ The export is bare one thirty-second part of the consumption, and one thirty-third part of the growth, including the seed, and near one-third of the seed itself, supposing it only one-tenth of the growth.

“ The import hath been one five hundred and one and seventieth part of the consumption, and one-eighteenth part of the export, and never equalled but a very small part of the growth,” &c.

Universal magazine for December, 1776.

laffes, &c. which is called molaffes beer. Malt liquor, which among the first fettlers, was more common, is made in some of the principal towns, in small quantity. It has long been at times more or less an article of exportation from *Philadelphia*. And the use of tea, coffee and chocolate, &c. is very common.

But the liquors of the native growth and produce of the country, exclusive of what are imported from abroad, are, in general, but mean, or scarce and inferior, compared with the provisions, which are good and plentiful. This seems to arise, at least, in part, from too much neglect in this particular, occasioned by getting *rum* and spirits at such exceeding low rates from the *West Indies*, which has rendered malt liquor, though more wholesome, and profitable for the country, less used than formerly, in the early time of the province, in proportion to the number of people, notwithstanding it is so great a grain country.

Besides, though grapes grow spontaneously, in great variety and abundance, almost every where in the woods, &c. being natural to the country, and laudable attempts have been made in making wine from them, yet not much has hitherto been done in it to very considerable advantage. And as *mulberry trees* are no less plentiful and natural to the soil than the *grape vine*, so *silk* has already been attempted in *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey* with much promising success.

It is not my intention, as before mentioned, to give a minute, but only a general account of the state of the province, at the time specified, so I shall observe the same conduct in regard to its trade and produce, &c. which as exhibited in page 265, has manifestly trebled in value every late twenty years; yet, not to mention the particulars of its surprising increase, many and great improvements

and provisions, &c.

Trade and produce, &c.

One year's
native ex-
ports of
Pennsylva-
nia.

ments and manufactures, now here commenced and carrying on, especially in and about Philadelphia, where many sugar houses have been lately erected, and large quantities of excellent loaf sugar are made to great perfection; which before was all imported; and glass is now (about the year 1770) manufactured in its vicinity, &c. it may be proper to give, at least, some idea of them in later years, by inserting the following account and estimate, as it was published, in the *Pennsylvania chronicle*, in March, 1767, of the particulars of one year's exports, from the port of *Philadelphia*, of the product and manufacture of the province and its neighbourhood,* viz,

Account

* *Note.* In the same year, the exports from *New York* were said to be 15,981 tons and five-eighths, computed at £. 251,932, exclusive as above excluded.

" Account of goods exported from the port of Philadelphia, between the 5th of April, 1765, and the 5th of April, 1766.

367,522	buishels of wheat,	-	-	40 buishels = 1 ton =	9,188	tons at 5/3 per buishel,	£. 96,474
148,887	barrels of flour,	-	-	9 barrels = 1 do. =	16,543	do. at 15/ per Cwt. -	251,246
34,736	do. bread,	-	-	16 do. = 1 do. =	2,171	do. at 15/ per barrel,	- 32,565
609	do. beef,	-	-	12 do. = 1 do. =	50 $\frac{1}{4}$	do. at 60/ per do. -	1,827
6,647	do. pork,	-	-	12 do. = 1 do. =	555	do. at 70/ per do. -	23,257
3,912	thousand staves,	-	-	-	7,824	do. at 6l. per thousand,	23,472
358	do. headings,	-	-	-	716	do. at 8l. per do. -	- 2,864
2,114	do. shingles,	-	-	-	200	do. at 20/ per do. -	- 2,114
60,205	buishels Indian corn,	-	-	40 buishels = 1 ton =	1,505 $\frac{1}{8}$	do. at 3/ per buishel, -	- 9,030
	Bar iron,	-	-	-	882	do. at 26l. per ton, -	- 22,932
	Pig iron,	-	-	-	813	do. at 7l. 10s. per ton, -	- 6,097
1,644	boxes soap,	-	-	-	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	do. at 25/ per box, -	- 2,055
1,202	do. candles,	-	-	-	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	do. at 25/ per do. -	- 1,502
97	thousand hoops,	-	-	-	20	do. at 70/ per thousand,	- 339
164	cwt. tobacco,	-	-	-	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	do. at 20/ per cwt. -	- 164
783	thousand feet boards,	-	-	-	1,566	do. at 76/ per thousand,	- 2,740
1,288	barrels beer,	-	-	8 barrels = 1 ton =	161	do. at 30/ per barrel,	- 1,932
238	kegs starch,	-	-	-	6	do. at 35/ per keg, -	- 416
12,094	hhds. flaxseed,	-	-	4 hhds. = 1 ton =	3,023	do. at 70/ per hhd. -	- 42,329
64	chefts furs and skins,	-	-	-	8	do. at 100l. per cheft,	- 6,400
35	barrels bees wax,	-	-	-	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	do. at 25l. per barrel,	- 875
199	firkins lard,	-	-	-	7	do. at 20/ per firkin,	- 199
1,501	do. butter (half Irish)	-	-	-	20	do. at 40/ per do. -	- 1,400
5,430	tons new vessels, including iron work, &c.	-	-	-	-	6l. 10s. per ton,	- 35,295
							<u>£. 567,521</u>
					45,306 $\frac{2}{3}$	tons.	

“ Besides logwood, fustic, mahogany, naval-stores, rice, and fundry other articles of *European, West India, and North American* produce, exported from hence; exclusive of cordage, for the use of new vessels, &c. provisions for ships’ use, staves for dunnage, and many other small articles.”

Great increase of the trade of Pennsylvania, &c.

But the annual increase of the trade and produce, till about the year 1775, was so great, that it was supposed, by the best judges, they doubled, at least, during these last ten years; inasmuch that all the exports of every kind to *Great Britain*, and other markets, were computed at near £. 1,200,000, or above £. 700,000 sterling, value per annum, upon an average of three years, ending December, 1773; after which time, for the two next succeeding years, they continued still greatly to increase: and the imports from *Great Britain* alone, in manufactures, and other merchandize, into the port of *Philadelphia* (exclusive of those from the *West Indies*, &c. in rum, sugar, molasses, &c. which were very great) at above £. 600,000 sterling per annum, upon the same average, at the same time.

An account of the former of which, taking into consideration the large home consumption of the

Note. In the votes of Assembly, vol. iv. page 272, is exhibited the gradual increase, and sterling value, of the whole exports from *England* (exclusive of linen, &c. from *Scotland* and *Ireland*) to *Pennsylvania*, in the following years, as,

In the year 1723	they amounted to	-	-	£. 15,992	19	4
1730	-	-	-	48,595	7	5
1737	-	-	-	58,690	6	7
1742	-	-	-	75,295	3	4
1747	-	-	-	82,404	17	7
1751	-	-	-	100,917	15	1

In another account, said to be no less authentic, and taken from the Custom House books, the exports and imports from and to *England* exclusive of *Scotland*, &c. to and from *Pennsylvania*, in value of pounds sterling, appear to be,

	Exports.		Imports.
In the year 1761	£. 206,199	-	£. 38,099
1762	284,152	-	38,228
1763	435,191	-	36,258
1764	363,368	-	25,148
1765	327,314	-	26,851

the same and other articles, in this populous province and its vicinity, at the same time, may furnish a general idea of its trade and produce, &c. viz.

" An Aggregate and Valuation of the Exports from the port of Philadelphia, from 5th of January, 1771, to 5th of January, 1774, with the number of vessels and tonnage employed therein, annually distinguished, &c.

	1771.	1772.	1773.
No. square rigged vessels,	361	370	426
No. sloops and schooners,	391	390	370
Amount of tonnage, -	46,654	46,841	46,972
Barrels of flour, -	252,744	284,872	265,967
Barrels of bread, - -	38,320	50,504	48,183
Bushels of wheat, -	51,699	92,012	182,391
Bushels Indian corn, -	259,441	159,625	179,217
Barrels beef and pork,	5,059	3,849	8,587
Barrels of hams, -	778	782	1,062
Tons of iron, - -	2,358	2,205	1,564.16
Barrels of tar, - -	2,693	4,877	5,677
Barrels of pitch, -	214	543	264
Barrels turpentine, -	3,143	1,569	1,722
M. feet plank and board,	1,724	4,075	3,309
M. staves and heading,	6,188	5,867	5,114.1
M. hoops, -	195	978	124.5
M. shingles, - -	1,937	1,765	5,254
No. walnut logs, - -	63	204	79
Feet of mahogany, -	108,441	142,962	63,255
Tons lignum vitæ, -	24	42½	30
Chests deer skins, -	93½	164	37
Tons of logwood, -	169	425½	195¾
Pounds of furs, - -	290	1,200	40
Tons pot ashes, -	161½	66	13¾
Cwt. brown sugar, -	1,185	1,598	2,578
Pounds loaf sugar, -	79,116	51,408	84,240
Gallons molasses, - -	52,611	19,681	39,403
Gallons rum, - -	204,456	247,635	277,693
Tons of wine, - -	24	118	172.86
Tons of oil, - -	22	42	45.88
Barrels of fish, -	5,128	5,776	6,430
Bushels flaxseed, -	110,412	85,794	68,681
Pounds bees wax, -	29,261	50,140	64,546
Boxes spermaceti candles,	683	1,004	514
Boxes tallow ditto, -	873	1,078	1,165
Boxes soap, - -	2,936	3,831	3,743
Kegs of lard, -	399	734	732
Boxes chocolate, -	479	385	306
Cwt. coffee, - -	501	296	1,639
Bushels salt, - -	64,468	42,803	39,192
Pounds cotton wool, -	2,200	5,840	25,070
Barrels of beer, -	1,236	1,798	1,395
Pounds of leather, -	25,970	40,725	31,696
Pounds of rice, - -	258,375	834,974	998,400
Kegs of starch, -	349	1,033	700

Sterling value annually calculated.

1771. 1772. 1773.
 £.631,554 14 10½ £.784,254 4 2 £.720,135 13 7¼

The average sum is £.711,974 17 6¾ sterling. Note.

General State of Pennsylvania,

Places of
trade with
Pennsylvania,
&c.

The principal part of these exports, which, by the merchants of *Philadelphia*, are sent to *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, the *West India islands*, *New England*, but of late years more to *Portugal*, *Spain*, up the *straits*, and other places, is carried in their own shipping, built here; which is frequently sold with the cargoes: the produce of all which is sure to centre in *Great Britain*, in pay for the manufactures and merchandize imported here from thence;

Note. The barrels of flour mentioned in the preceding aggregate, &c. averaged about two hundred each: they are since by law fixed at one hundred and three quarters each; hence the average number of the said barrels of flour, for these three years, is about 306,000 of our present barrels; and in 1772 the export was above 325,000 of the same kind of barrels, &c.

Note. The following is an estimate, or value, of all the exports and imports, from and into *Great Britain*, &c. and all its several continental governments, or colonies, in *America*, respectively distinguished, as taken from the *Pennsylvania journal*, of September 7th, 1774; which is there said to be on an average of three years; which years are most probably those mentioned in the preceding aggregate, &c. viz.

Amount of commodities exported from Great Britain to		Imported into Great Britain, &c. from	
Hudson's Bay, -	£. 16,000	Labrador, -	£. 49,000
Newfoundland, from Britain and Ireland, -	273,000	Hudson's Bay, -	29,000
Canada, -	105,000	Newfoundland, -	345,000
Nova Scotia, -	26,500	Canada, -	105,000
New England, -	395,000	Nova Scotia, -	38,000
Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, -	12,000	New England, -	370,500
New York, -	531,000	Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, -	114,500
Philadelphia, -	611,000	New York, -	526,000
Virginia and Maryland, -	865,000	Philadelphia to Great Britain and other markets, -	705,500
North Carolina, -	18,000	Virga. & Marld. to do, -	1,040,000
South Carolina, -	365,000	North Carolina to do, -	68,350
Georgia, -	49,000	South Carolina to do, -	395,666
Pensacola, -	97,000	Georgia to do, -	74,200
St. Augustine, -	7,000	Pensacola, -	63,000
	£. 3,370,900		£. 3,927,706

Note. How far this account may be depended on, I shall not pretend to say, seeing some parts of it, at least, seem to be very imperfect; for in the same journal for July 5th, 1775, the quantity of wheat alone exported from *Quebec*, in the year 1774, is said to be three hundred and fifty thousand bushels (but supposed by some to have been much more) no other exports from thence being mentioned; so that in the export from Canada the great fur and skin trade of that country appears not to be properly noticed, &c.

thence ; except perhaps what is returned hither in wines of *Lisbon*, *Madeira*, *Canary*, or *Western Islands*, *West India* produce, with *salt* and other necessaries, for the use of the country, and consumed in the province and its neighbourhood.

The present inhabitants of *Pennsylvania*, exclu- Inhabitants.
five of the few *Indians*, still remaining in the remote, or back parts, of it, consist mostly of such people as have removed thither from *Europe*, and of their descendants ; and still many of them have connections there ; hence they are generally in the practice of the customs and manners of the different countries, from which they originally came, according to their rank in life. Of those which constitute the different religious societies, such as appear to be least known, and most remarkable, either have been already, or will hereafter, be mentioned in the proper place.

Besides the great numbers of the first and early colonists, as well as since, from *Great Britain*, and the large importations of people from *Ireland* into this province, both in early and latter times, those from *Germany* have been so great, that it is Germans
&c. supposed near one-third, at least, of the inhabitants, at this time, consists of the last, and their descendants: the counties of *Lancaster*, *York*, *Berks*, and *Northampton* being principally settled by them, and they are very numerous, even, in the city and county of *Philadelphia*, as well as in the others.

In the summer of the year 1749, twenty-five sail of large ships arrived with *German* passengers alone : which brought about twelve thousand souls, some of the ships about six hundred each ; and in several other years near the same number of these people arrived annually ; and in some years near as many annually from *Ireland*. By an exact account of all the ships and passengers annually,

which have arrived at *Philadelphia*, with *Germans* alone, nearly from the first settlement of the province, till about the year 1776, when their importation ceased, the number of the latter appears to be about thirty-nine thousand; and their internal increase has been very great. *Cumberland* county is mostly settled by the *Irish*, who abound through the whole province. The *Germans* seem more adapted for agriculture, and the improvement of a wilderness, and the *Irish* for trade, &c. The former soon get estates in this country, where industry and parsimony are the chief requisites to procure them, &c.

Negroes.

The *Negroes*, or black people, it is supposed, are less numerous in *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, than in most of the other colonies, in proportion to the number of other inhabitants; the Legislature, at different times, having used the best endeavours in their power, to discourage and prevent the impolitic and inhuman practice of the introduction or importation, of them; a practice, which has long prevailed in this part of the world, both in its nature and manner, not only the great opprobrium of Christianity, but even the shameful disgrace of human nature itself!

Refuge of
other coun-
tries, &c.

But there is another class of people, whose numbers here, in latter years, have annually so much increased as apparently to portend consequences no less dangerous and unhappy to the public good, in some respects, than those last mentioned, as they are more capable of it, and those very consequences manifestly a present advantage to them; I mean such as flee from justice, in other countries, and convicts from *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; who frequently find the way hither, after they are landed in other places, to the no small detriment of the honest part of the community; besides the dangerous consequences,
which

which may justly be dreaded from so large, and long continued collection of such kind of people together; which at present seems to demand the public attention more than it has done.

About the year 1759, or sometime before, the number of families in the province was computed at twenty thousand, by a very moderate computation;* and considering the very great increase, divers ways, since that time, the whole number of people in *Pennsylvania*, about the year 1770, may probably be near two hundred thousand, at least, or somewhere between two and three hundred thousand.

For the number of taxables, from time to time, in the province, as appears by the tax books, and journals of Assembly, may be pretty nearly ascertained: and it is probable, by these accounts, that, in the year 1731, they did not exceed nine or ten thousand at most; in 1751, they were about twenty-one thousand; and in 1771, between thirty-nine and forty thousand; nearly doubling every twenty years; so computing the increase

* See "An historical review of the constitution and government of *Pennsylvania*," &c. London, printed in 1759, in the appendix: written against the Proprietaries, &c.

This is the lowest or most moderate computation that I find; for otherwise, as published in Benjamin Martin's general magazine, &c. for July, 1755, their number is then asserted to have been 250,000, which in 1775, twenty years after, being doubled, would make 500,000, &c.

Note. In the following account of the taxables, from time to time, in the different counties, taken from the tax books and votes of Assembly, it is to be observed, that the frontier counties usually paid no taxes for several years after they were instituted (in latter years on account of Indian disturbances, &c.) and therefore some of them are not here included.

				Taxables.
1. City and county of Philadelphia, in 1720 contained				1,195
1740 -				4,850
1751 -				7,100
The city 2634 } in 1760 -				8,321
County 5687 }				
The city 3751 } in 1771 -				10,455
County 6704 }				
				2. Bucks

increase of the whole twenty thousand families, with the fresh immigrants, which were very numerous, in the same proportion, and allowing seven persons to a family, they would, in 1770, amount to about two hundred and fifty thousand; the taxables being, by this computation, nearly one in six, rendered so numerous by reason of the poll-tax, &c. And the three lower counties of *Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware* might probably contain between twenty and thirty thousand more.

City of
Philadelphia in
1770.

The city of *Philadelphia*, which has been so much, and deservedly admired for its excellent plan, the regularity of its streets, and its great and rapid increase and improvement, it is supposed,

					<i>Taxables.</i>
2. Bucks county in	-	-	1752	-	3,012
			1760	-	3,148
			1771	-	3,177
3. Chester county in	-	-	1732	-	2,157
			1742	-	3,007
			1752	-	3,951
			1760	-	4,761
			1771	-	5,484
4. Lancaster county in	-	-	1738	-	2,560
			1752	-	3,951
			1760	-	5,635
			1771	-	6,608
5. York county in	-	-	1749	-	1,466
			1751	-	2,052
			1760	-	3,302
			1771	-	4,426
6. Cumberland county in	-	-	1749	-	807
			1760	-	1,501
			1771	-	3,521
7. Berks county in	-	-	1760	-	3,016
			1771	-	3,202
8. Northampton county in	-	-	1760	-	1,989
			1771	-	2,793

Note. The town of Lancaster in 1752, being about twenty years old, contained three hundred and eleven taxables.

Note. The land tax of eighteen pence in the pound, in 1771, amounted to about £. 27,600, and the excise, in the same year, £. 5,000; of which the city and county of Philadelphia paid about £. 14,000.

posed, for several years last past, has been augmented with above two hundred new dwelling houses annually, including the suburbs north and south of it, along the side of the river *Delaware*; where its buildings now extend about two miles in length; but it is not built, perhaps, much above half a mile westward from the river, along *High-street*, in the middle, or broadest part of it.

The houses are mostly built of brick, and covered with shingles of cedar, very uniform, plain and neat; though both good marble, and other stone, are procured, within fifteen miles from the city, by water carriage, and by land near the same distance. They are mostly three stories high, besides the garrets and cellars, more especially in the interior parts of the town; and for the most part it is well paved, watered, lighted, and cleaned; and the general fuel is wood. But too much of a similitude is said, by some, to prevail in the structure of this city; and the eye is not delighted with that variety here, which sometimes is observable in smaller places.

The number of houses erected upon the plan of the city, exclusive of public buildings, stores, work-houses, &c. in December, 1769, were three thousand three hundred and eighteen; those of the northern suburbs, five hundred and fifty-three; and in the southern suburbs, six hundred and three; in all four thousand four hundred and seventy-four dwelling houses; which, at the most moderate computation, being multiplied by six, gives twenty-six thousand eight hundred and forty-four inhabitants; but they were supposed to average nearer seven to a family, which makes thirty-one thousand three hundred and eighteen, in the city and suburbs of *Philadelphia* at that time, when it was not above eighty-seven years old; and for the next following

Number of
houses and
inhabitants.

following four or five years, it continued to increase with still greater augmentation.*

Some nuisances, inconveniences, and abuses, &c.

As to the original plan of the city, which has already been described in another place, though most of it is still retained in the late improvements, yet, in some parts of it, the intention of the great Founder is said to be departed from; and it is too much cut up into small and confined spaces, by narrow lanes and alleys, not suitable for the heat of the climate, nor proper for the health of the inhabitants; for the benefit of whom, in crowded cities, as much free and open air is requisite as can possibly be obtained. Besides, along the water side, where there ought to be a wide public street, or quay, continued the whole front of the city, for the free and uninterrupted use of the citizens; besides wharves, extending further into the water, and other convenient space, for shipping and landing of merchandize, and properly accomodating the general trade, &c. private persons are permitted to build and place obstructions close to the river. Add to these, the principal street in the city is shamefully obstructed by a *court-house* in the middle of the most crowded part of it, and by other buildings erected for butchers shambles, and holding a market; now long experienced to be the most inconvenient and improper place that could be appropriated for that purpose in such a crowded and increasing city, as well as contrary to

* The gradual increase of the dwelling houses in this city and suburbs, at different times, in later years, when they were numbered, appears by the following account, viz.

In the year 1749 they amounted to	-	-	2,076
1753	-	-	2,300
1760	-	-	2,960
1769	-	-	4,474
1777	-	-	5,460

Note. Above a year before this last period, building in Philadelphia, by reason of a particular circumstance, being interrupted, had entirely ceased.

to the original intention, which designed all the public streets for high ways without obstruction, or interruption; though in early time, it might have been otherwise, in regard to conveniency, when the place was small, and the people few. These inconveniences, and abuses, not to say public nuisances, and impediments to the salubrity of the city, with their growing consequences, if it continues to increase as it has done, and they not removed, and better provision made, future time will indoubtedly be more sensible of.*

The public buildings in this city, at this time, are mostly plain, yet some of them elegant; but, in general, they are adapted more for real use and conveniency, than ornament. The *state-house*, where the *General Assembly*, and *Supreme Court*, of the province, are held, is a plain, but elegant and spacious edifice, for the time in which it was built, about the year 1732: it stands on the south side of *Chesnut-street*; and with its wings and appendages, on each side of it, occupies the whole extent of a square of near four hundred feet, between *Fifth* and *Sixth-streets* from *Delaware*. The *prison* and *work house*, at the corner of *High-street* and *Third-street*, are strong and spacious buildings, but have nothing very remarkable in their architecture.

Of houses for worship, that of the *Episcopalians*, or *Church of England*, in *Second-street*, called *Christ's Church*, is looked upon as the most elegant;

* The health and conveniency of large cities are of the greatest importance, and above all calculation of expence, &c. An enlargement of the limits of this city north and south, with a more proper division into regular wards, for its better government and regulation, merit public attention: and a further provision of suitable and convenient open and vacant spaces of ground, for public buildings, market places, grave yards, public, spacious, airy walks planted with trees and fenced in, and protected from all nuisances, in every part of the city-plan and vicinity, for the greater conveniency and healthiness of the people, are among the further improvements to be wished for;—too much neglected in early time, as well as in later years, &c.

gant; the rest are generally more adapted for use and conveniency, than shew. The *Quakers* have four houses for public worship in the city; of which they constantly, at the appointed times for worship, occupy three; the fourth is used on particular occasions. The *Episcopalians* have three; the *Presbyterians*, four; the *Baptists*, one; the *Moravians*, one; the *Roman Catholics*, two; the *Methodists*, one; the *German Lutherans*, two; and the *German Calvinists*, one; likewise the *Swedish Lutherans*, one, in the lower suburbs, at *Wicocoa*.

Schools and
seminaries
of learning,
&c.

Besides the numerous private *schools*, for the education of youth, in this city, there are two public *seminaries* of learning, incorporated by charter, and provided with funds; the first, in order of time, is that of the *Quakers*, already mentioned in another place; incorporated by the first Proprietor, *William Penn*; the corporation consists of fifteen persons, chosen by themselves; they have their monthly meetings, for the care and management of the institution; and their regular visitations of the various schools, under their direction and notice.*

Besides the schools in other parts of the city and county of *Philadelphia*, under their care, they have a convenient and handsome building, elegantly situated, in the east side of *Fourth-street*, near *Chesnut-street*; where, besides *reading* and *writing*, are taught *grammar* and the *languages*, with the most useful parts of *mathematical* learning, in different apartments, under their proper masters; where also is kept a library, for the use of the institution: but this seminary, in some respects, has not been improved, or advanced, according to the original intention, or to as great utility as it is capable of.

The

* The *Quakers* have one school in the city besides these under their care, at their sole expence, for teaching *Negro children* only.

The second is the *College and Academy of Philadelphia*, of a much later standing, and not existing as such, before the year 1749; but greatly improved of late years; and is likely, if its present prudent management be continued, to become hereafter, the most considerable of the kind, perhaps, in *British America*: the corporation consists of twenty-four members, called *Trustees*; they have a large commodious building, on the west side of *Fourth-street*, near *Mulberry-street*, where the different branches of learning and science are taught, in the various parts of the institution.

College and
Academy of
Philadel-
phia.

In this city are erected two large and elegant edifices, for charitable uses, but not yet compleat-
ed; the *Pennsylvania Hospital*, and the *House of Employment for the poor of Philadelphia*; it is supposed there are not other two institutions of the kind equal to them, in any of the *British* colonies in *America*, for the number of persons annually relieved, the spacious, convenient and healthy accommodations, and general good management, in every department; in the former, which had its first rise so late as in the year 1751, there have been cured and relieved above four hundred persons annually;* and in the latter, which is of

Pennsylva-
nia Hospi-
tal, &c.

VOL. II.

[36]

still

* Extract from the state of the accounts of the *Pennsylvania Hospital*, as adjusted by the managers, from the votes of Assembly, and inserted in the *Pennsylvania* chronicle in January, 1768, viz.

“ From an exact list of the names and cases of the patients, it appears, there have been four hundred and fifty-eight poor diseased persons admitted into the hospital, within the year ending the 4th of the 5th month (May) 1767; of whom fifty nine were lunatics, or other unhappy objects, deprived of right reason.

And there have been discharged, cured	273
relieved	16
for irregularity	11
at their own request	6
at the request of their friends	6
died	37
	355
Remain in the house	103
Total	458
“ And	

House for
the poor,
&c.

still later standing, about four hundred indigent people, and helpless objects of charity have been constantly provided with suitable employment, or comfortable living and accommodations. The managers of these institutions are annually chosen by the contributors, according to acts of Assembly, by which they are incorporated: both of them were first promoted chiefly by the *Quakers*, and still continue under the management principally of the same people.

Other insti-
tutions, &c.

There are other institutions and companies, in this city, formed either for the good order and security of it, or other patriotic purposes; as, *that for the insurance of houses from loss by fire*; with a number of *fire companies*, or *associations*, to prevent and extinguish fire in it: *the society for the relief of poor and distressed masters of ships, their widows and children*; *the American philosophical society*, &c. for promoting useful knowledge; *the library company of Philadelphia*; *the society for promoting the culture of silk*, &c.

City corpo-
ration, &c.

The corporation of the city itself, for its internal government and police, has been already mentioned, in the account of its original institution by the first Proprietor *William Penn*, in 1701. It consists of a Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council, by the name of, “The Mayor and Commonalty of the city of Philadelphia,” &c. They are chosen by the corporation; and the number of Aldermen and Common Council-men is not limited: the nature, constitution, power, and office of the corporation are described in the city charter in the appendix.

Besides

“And divers had medicines and visits of the physicians, as *out-patients*, whose cases were not proper, or necessary, to admit them into the house.”

Besides the city of *Philadelphia*, there are several considerable towns in the province, exclusive of the capitals of the counties, already mentioned; some of which have their stated market days, and regular markets for provisions, &c.

Germantown, in *Philadelphia* county, about six miles north of the city, with which it is nearly coeval, and noted for its manufacture of *stockings*, by the *German* settlers and their descendants, who principally inhabit it, consists chiefly of one street, several miles in length, different parts of it having different names, irregularly built of stone, dug out of the ground where the houses stand; in a high and healthy situation, with distances, or vacant spaces, in some places, between the houses; it affords a pleasant retreat in summer to divers inhabitants of *Philadelphia*; and contains more houses and people than any other town in the province, *Philadelphia* and *Lancaster* excepted.

Wilmington, in *Newcastle* county, which appears to be no older than about thirty or forty years (anno 1772) is now next to *Philadelphia*, in trade and populousness, on or near the *Delaware*; and in late years, has far exceeded *Newcastle*, which has long seemingly been on the decline,

Wilmington.

Note. *Wilmington* was first laid out, for a town, and settled principally by the *Quakers*, &c. of whom, in the year 1738, I find, *William Shipley*, *Josbua Way*, *Thomas West*, *David Ferris*, *Joseph Hevvs*, *Edward Tatnal*, and others, had a religious meeting fixed here. MS.

The large numbers of Europeans, which have flocked into *Pennsylvania*, who had been used to towns, especially from *Germany*, seem to have been one cause of so many considerable towns suddenly starting up in this province of late years; but they are less adapted to agricultural employment, than to that of manufacturing; hence they generally here either soon decline, or cease to increase; except upon navigable waters, and supported by foreign trade, or manufacturing, &c.

Lebanon in *Lancaster* county (as well as many other towns in the province) is now in a very flourishing state; it was laid out about the year 1759, and now in 1772, is said to contain above two hundred good dwelling houses, many of them large, and well built of stone, dug out of the ground where they stand, and principally inhabited by *Germans*, &c.

cline, though the courts, &c. are still held at the latter place; from which it is only fix miles distant, northward, and about twenty-eight south west from *Philadelphia*. It is situated on an elevated and hilly declivity, descending to *Christeen* creek; which so far, at least, is navigable for vessels of two hundred tons burden, and runs into the *Delaware* at a small distance; from whence, to a spectator, passing on the said river, this town, by reason of its particular and elevated situation, exhibits a pleasant appearance.

Of the internal Police, and Courts of Judicature in Pennsylvania.

The nature and manner of the government, by a Governor and provincial Assembly, as expressed in the last charter of privileges, given in the year 1701, with the powers granted to the Proprietary, *William Penn*, in the royal charter of 1681, upon which the former is founded, have already been mentioned, in the preceding history; and, therefore, in this place, need no repetition. According to which charter of privileges, there are two negatives in the Legislature; that of the Governor, and that of the Assembly, or Representatives of the people.

Governor's
Council, &c

The *Council*, as before observed, are no part of the Legislature, otherwise than by advising the Governor, in his *negative*, &c. they are chosen by the Proprietary, or Governor, and are properly called *the Governor's Council*. The acts of legislature run thus, in the presidency of a Deputy Governor, who is appointed by the Proprietary, with the royal approbation, viz. “*Be it enacted by the honourable——Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and of the counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware river; by and with the consent of the Representatives of the freemen*

freemen of said province, in General Assembly met."

The Governor's salary, which is a free gift, or in the power of the people, was never permanently fixed by law; but of late years, has generally been about £. 1,000 currency per annum, besides the perquisites, which amounted to a considerable sum.

The *Assembly*, by charter, is elected on the first day of October annually, by the freeholders, in each county. The qualifications, by law, for an elector and elected, is a freeman, resident in the county, for two years, at least, having fifty acres of land, well seated, or otherways worth, in real or personal estate, or both jointly, the value of fifty pounds currency; which, if required, must be declared on oath or affirmation. But the number of the members, and mode of elections, are fixed, altered and regulated by act of Assembly, pursuant to the powers granted by the said charter. They have for many years, before the last frontier counties were added, or till about the year 1771, consisted of about thirty-six; of which number, the city of *Philadelphia* returned two; each of the oldest counties, of *Philadelphia*, *Bucks* and *Chester*, eight; that of *Lancaster* four; and the later (and in those times, much thinner inhabited) counties of *York*, *Cumberland*, *Berks* and *Northampton*, returned the rest.

The *Sheriffs* and *Coroners* are usually elected at the same time with the Representatives, by county elections; the people elect two for each office; out of which the Governor chuses one; who, in the same manner, may be re-elected for three years running; but after three years, cannot be re-elected, unless after the intervention of three years out of office; and then he is capable of a new election.

The

County
Commissioners and
Assessors.

The *County Commissioners*, for managing of the public affairs of their respective counties, are three, and the *Assessors* are six, in and for each county; of the latter the whole number is annually chosen, at the same time, with the *Assembly*, *Sheriffs* and *Coroners*, according to act of *Assembly*; the former, or the *Commissioners*, continue in office for three years; of whom, one, or the oldest Commissioner, is changed, or goes out, and another is elected in his place every year, in each county.

Juries.

Juries are all returned by the *Sheriff*, excepting in particular cases, but not often; there may be a *struck jury*, by consent of parties; and that must be in the presence of the Judges, the Sheriff and the parties.

Justices of
the Peace.

Justices of the Peace are all of the Governor's appointing, and sit in *Quarter Sessions*, conformable to the laws and institutions of *England*.

Register
General.

The *Register General* is appointed and commissioned by the Governor, according to act of *Assembly*, for the *probate of wills*, and granting *letters of administration*. His authority extends all over the province; but is executed by a Deputy, in each respective county, except at *Philadelphia*; where he is obliged to reside himself.

Courts of
Judicature.

The power of establishing all the *Courts of Judicature*, in *Pennsylvania*, was granted, by the royal charter, to the *Proprietary*. They were accordingly, for some time, erected and held by ordinances of the Governor and Council; but they were afterwards established by laws of the province.

The *Courts of Judicature*, for the administration of justice, as established by law, within the province, consist of,

Supreme
Court.

1. *The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania*, held in *Philadelphia*, twice every year, by any two of the
three

three Justices, or Judges, of the said court. Of these Judges, who are commissioned by the Governor severally, by distinct patents, one is distinguished, in his commission, by the name of *Chief Justice*; the others, by that of *second* and *third* Judge, or Justice; and none of them can sit judicially in any inferior court: every of which Justices having full power to issue forth writs of *habeas corpus*, *certiorari* and *writs of error*, &c.

This court is empowered to hear and determine ^{Its power, &c.} all causes, by writ of the same court, removed from the courts of *Quarter Sessions*, and *Common Pleas*, in the several counties, and from the city court: to reverse, or affirm, the judgments of the inferior courts: to examine and punish all officers of courts, for default, &c. to award process for levying fines: and if occasion require, to go the circuit twice every year, to try the issues *in fact*, in the counties, from whence the cause was removed: the Judges of this court have power to deliver the jails of persons, committed for treason, murder, and other felonies of death; and to hear and determine all such felonies, committed in the *out parts* of the province, by a jury of the city of *Philadelphia*; especially felonies committed by *Indians*, &c. But from the final sentence of this court, as well as from that of the *Courts of Admiralty*, and all other courts, within the province, is reserved the right of *appeal* to *Great Britain*.

2. *The Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Gaol Delivery*, held in each county, four ^{Court of Quarter Sessions.} times in a year, by any three, or more, of the Justices, nominated and authorized by the Governor; and special, or private, sessions, as often as occasion requires, pursuant to their commissions, &c. any of which Justices has power in or out of sessions, to take all manner of recognizances, &c.

3. *The*

Court of
Common
Pleas.

3. *The County Court of Common Pleas*, held four times annually, at the same places, in each county where the *Quarter Sessions* are kept, by, at least, three of the Justices thereof, commissioned by the Governor; who are empowered to hear and determine all pleas, suits and causes, civil, personal, real and mixt, &c.

The Judges of the *Common Pleas* are the Justices of the Peace in each respective county: when the *Quarter Sessions* are finished, they continue to sit (in most of the counties) in quality of the Judges of *Common Pleas*, by commission from the Governor.

Orphans'
Court,

4. *The Orphans' Court*, held by the Justices of the *Quarter Sessions*, in each county, in the same week, in which the *sessions* are held; or, at any other time as they see occasion.

Its power,
&c.

They are empowered to call to account any person, who is entrusted with, or any wise *accountable* for, any estate, belonging to any *orphan*, or person under age; (and even administrators of intestate estates) to oblige the Register General, or his Deputies, to transmit to their court, copies of such writings, as relate to estates of *orphans*, or *minors*; to oblige administrators to give better security; and upon neglect thereof, or if the administrator has imbezzled the decedant's estate, by their sentence to revoke his letter of administration; to oblige as well an *executrix*, that is married to another husband, without securing the *minors'* portions, as also all other *executors*, to give security for the payment, or delivery, of the legacies, or shares of estates belonging to *minors*, and for their maintenance and education: to admit *minors* to chuse guardians, and to appoint guardians for such as, by the *common law*, are incapable of chusing; to direct the putting out *minors* apprentices: to send their attachments, for contempt

contempt, and force obedience to their orders, by imprisonment, or sequestration of lands and goods: finally, to settle the accounts of administrators, and to make distribution of the surpluse of the estate; and to settle and discharge the accounts of bonds of guardians, and other persons, entrusted with *minors'* estates.

5. The *Mayor's Court*, held in *Philadelphia*, by the Mayor, Recorder, and, at least, two Aldermen of the city, quarterly, by charter, for hearing and determining all crimes and offences, committed in the said city: but the power of hearing and determining all felonies of death is, by law, vested in the Judges of the *Supreme Court*.

Besides these are the *Court of Admiralty*, for the province of *Pennsylvania*, and the counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, on *Delaware*; and the *Court of Admiralty*, in case of appeals, for the provinces of *New York*, *New Jersey*, *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*; held in *Philadelphia* only, agreeable to the direction in the Judges' commission.

The courts for the respective counties are held, 1, at *Philadelphia*, for the county of *Philadelphia*; 2, at *Newtown*, for that of *Bucks*; 3, at *Chester*, for the county of *Chester*; 4, at *Lancaster*, for that of *Lancaster*; 5, at *Yorktown*, for the county of *York*; 6, at *Carlisle*, for the county of *Cumberland*; 7, at *Reading*, for the county of *Berks*; 8, at *Easton* for the county of *Northampton*; 9, at *Bedford*, for *Bedford* county; 10, at *Sunbury*, for *Northumberland* county; and 11, at *Pittsburg*, for *Westmoreland*.

Places
where the
the county
courts are
held.

In the year 1772, in the administration of *Richard Penn*, Governor under the Proprietaries *Thomas* and *John Penn*, the principal offices, in the province of *Pennsylvania*, were held, as follows:

Members

Officers of
govern-
ment, &c.
in 1772.

*Members of the Proprietaries' and Governor's
Council.*

James Hamilton,	Benjamin Chew,
Joseph Turner,	Thomas Cadwallader,
William Logan,	James Tilghman,
Richard Peters,	Andrew Allen,
Lynford Lardner,	Edward Shippen, junior.

Provincial Secretary, and	}	Joseph Shippen, junr.
Clerk of the Council,		
Speaker of the House	}	Joseph Galloway,
of Assembly,		
Clerk of the Assembly,		Charles Moore,
Treasurer of the province,		Owen Jones,
Agent for the province,	}	Benjamin Franklin.
in Great Britain,		

Judges of the Supreme Court.

William Allen,	Chief Justice,
John Lawrence,	Second Judge,
Thomas Willing,	Third Judge.

Prothonotary of the	}	Edward Shippen, junr.
Supreme Court, &c.		
Attorney General,		Andrew Allen,
Register General, &c.		Benjamin Chew,
Master of the rolls, &c.		William Parr.

Proprietaries' officers for land affairs, &c.

Secretary of the land office,	James Tilghman,	
Receiver General and keep-	}	Edmund Physick,
er of the great seal,		
Auditor General,		Richard Hockley,
Surveyor General,		John Lukens.

*Principal officers for the customs, for the port of Phi-
ladelphia.*

Collector,	John Patterson,
Comptroller,	Zachariah Hood,
Naval officer,	Richard Hockley,
Surveyor and searcher,	David Drummond, &c.

Court

Court of Admiralty for the province of *Pennsylvania*, and counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, upon *Delaware*.

Judge, Edward Shippen, junior,
Register, Richard Peters, junior,
Marshal, Judah Foulke.

Court of Admiralty, in case of appeals, for the provinces of *New York*, *New Jersey*, *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*.

Commiffary,	Honourable Jared Ingerfol,
Deputy Commiffary,	James Biddle,
Register,	Philip How,
Deputy Register,	John Smith,
Marshal and Serjeant at Mace,	Arodi Thayer.

About this time the number of Aldermen, for the city of *Philadelphia*, confifted of twenty perfons, and the Common Council of thirty fix.

PART

PART III.

The Indians.—Uncertainty of their origin.—Boundaries of the Six Nations, with their dependencies, and the Indians on Ohio, &c.—Account of the Six Nations, their customs and properties, &c.—Of those of Pennsylvania; their general turn of mind, propensities, customs and habits.—Speech of an Indian chief in answer to a Swedish missionary.—Their religious sense of the Deity.—Conrad Weiser's letter on the subject.—Account of some religious Indians in 1760, &c.—Infraction of the peace between the Indians and the people of Pennsylvania, about the year 1754.—Massacre of the Conestogoe Indians, &c.—Causes of the Indian war.—Means of the ensuing peace in 1764.

Uncertain-
ty of the
origin of the
Indians, &c.

AS to the origin of the *Indians*, or aboriginal inhabitants of *America*, in general, there is nothing on record, but mere modern conjecture; which varies according to the different opinions and fancies of those, who have thought and writ on the subject, and endeavoured to account for the first peopling of that continent. It is, perhaps, as improbable for a people, who have not the knowledge of letters, to derive their original from those, who were possessed of that useful and necessary science, and not to retain it among themselves afterwards, as it would be nugatory to pretend to give an account thereof, without the means, absolutely necessary for that purpose? Therefore, without saying any thing of their original,

ginal, or troubling the reader with conjectures, how this country first began to be inhabited by mankind, let it suffice here to observe, in general, that these people appear to form a distinct species of the human race, as well as the *Negroes*, and some other kinds of people, in the world: this is so manifestly visible, from an entire uniformity, among them, of certain marks and characters, peculiar to their persons and features, that they are thereby as sufficiently distinguished from all the rest of mankind, into a different, or distinct species, or variety, of rational beings, as the various species of some of the particular *genera* of the irrational animals and plants are characterized by their respective and peculiar properties and phenomena.*

Probably a different species of mankind.

The *Indians*, called the *Six Nations*, have held sovereignty over all the *Indians*, both in this and the neighbouring provinces, for a long series of years; and as a similarity of their customs prevails much among those, who are subject to them, so previous to an account of the *Indians* of *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, as they were found and observed by the first and early *European* or *English* settlers among them, whose description or observation, may be most depended on, as nearest the truth, it may be proper to say something further respecting these nations, though they have not, at present, their residence within the limits of these provinces.

The Six Nations, &c.

The *Six Nations* first entered into an alliance with the *English*, on the capture of *New York* from the *Dutch*, in 1664; which has remarkably continued ever since. The limits of their lands, or country, included all the nations and tribes, which

* Dr. Douglas of Boston, in his summary, &c. says, "The American aboriginal *Indians* are *impubes* and *imberbes*," &c. This is asserted by many others; but however it may be in regard to some of that people, later observation assures us, that this is not the case, at least, with all of them.

Extent of
their terri-
tories, &c.

which were subject to them, either by conquest, or otherwise; they extended from the south part of lake *Champlain*, in latitude 44° , on the north of *New York* government, to the borders of *Carolina*, in latitude 36° , comprehending all *Pennsylvania*, and the adjacent countries. The *Six Nations* themselves are seated between the 42d and 43d degree of north latitude, north eastward of *Pennsylvania*, within the bounds of *New York* government, and on the rivers which run into lake *Ontario*.

Manner of
bounding
their coun-
tries.

The *Indians* generally bound their countries, or territories, by large wide spaces of land, not by lines, or marks. Their numbers are small, in proportion to the land they possess. They fix their towns commonly on the borders of great rivers, on account of the rich lawns, for planting their corn: the intermediate ground they reserve for hunting; which equally serves them for that purpose and a frontier.

Manner of
naming
their nati-
ons and
tribes.

Their nations and tribes are generally distinguished and denominated by the names of the rivers and creeks, or other noted places, of their residence; which original names they commonly still continue to retain after their removal to other places. The tribes, which composed their nations, were frequently in proportion to the number and importance of the creeks, that ran into the rivers which bore their nations. The *Delawares* so called from the river *Delaware*, by the English, but by themselves in their own language, *Lenelenoppes*, or the original people, consisted of the *Affunpink* (Stony creek) *Indians*; *Rankokas*, (*Lamikas*, or *Chichequaas*) *Mingoes*, *Andastakas*; (*Christeen* creek, near *Wilmington*) *Neshaminies*, in *Bucks* county; *Shackamaxons*, about *Kensington*, near *Philadelphia*; *Mantas*, or *Frog Indians*, about *Burlington*, and a creek of that name, in *Gloucester* county,

county, which runs out of *Jersey* into the *Delaware*, a little below *Philadelphia*, &c.

Since the conquest and subjection of divers of the *Indian* nations and tribes, by the *Six Nations*, particularly after the *Europeans* became acquainted with them, (during which time they appear to have been continually decreasing in number) many of their places of residence have been changed for others, by the direction and order of their conquerors, or superiors; especially to make room for the settlement of the *Europeans*, &c. Hence, after the *Susquahannocks* were exterminated, the upper parts of the river *Susquahanna* were allotted to the *Nanticokes*, from the eastern shore of *Maryland*; to the *Tuteloës*, from *Meherin* river, in the south of *Virginia*; and to the *Delawares*, among which last are included the *Menefinks*, from above the forks of *Delaware*, and the *Mandes*, or *Salem* Indians, &c. and as the country becomes more inhabited by *Europeans* and their descendants, the *Indians* move still further back into the wilderness, &c.

Their
change of
residence,
&c.

Among the most noted nations, which sometimes formerly inhabited *New Jersey*, and the first, or most early settled parts of *Pennsylvania*, are said to have been the *Narraticongs*, on the north side of *Rariton* river, the *Capitinasses*, the *Gacheos*, the *Munseys*, the *Pomptons*, and some of the *Five Nations*, before the sixth was added; which was that of the *Tuscororas*, on account of a similarity in their language to that of the *Five Nations*, indicating them to have been originally of the same stock, &c.

Noted na-
tions for-
merly in
New Jersey
and *Penn-
sylvania*.

The *Indians* on *Ohio* chiefly consist of the hunters of the several nations round, under the protection or subjection of the *Six Nations*, as, the *Delawares*,

Nations on
the *Ohio*,
&c.

Delawares, Shawanessé, Willinis (called by the *French, Ilionois*) and their own several nations,* &c.

The Six Nations greatly diminished, &c.

Governor Colden's history of the Five Nations, &c.

The *Six Nations*, sometimes called *Mingos*, and *Confederates*, as their name denotes, called by the *Dutch, Maquaas*, or *Mahakuase*, and by the *French, Iroquois*, were so greatly diminished in the the year 1757, that they were then supposed to consist only of about twelve hundred fighting men. "They consist (says *Colden* in his history of them) of so many tribes, or nations, joined together by league, or confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, and without any superiority of one over the other. This union has continued so long, that the *Christians* know nothing of the original of it.

* The following summary of the *Indian Nations*, &c. westward of the *Ohio*, is extracted from an account or computation, said to have been made by themselves, and by *George Croghn*, Deputy of *Sir William Johnson*, Agent for Indian affairs, delivered to *General Stanwix* about the year 1759.

Nations.	Residence.	Fighting men.
1. <i>Delawares</i> ,	On the <i>Ohio</i> , <i>Beaver Creek</i> , and other branches of <i>Ohio</i> ; and on <i>Susquahanna</i> , &c.	600
2. <i>Shawanessé</i> ,	River <i>Scioto</i> , a branch of <i>Ohio</i> ; 400 miles below <i>Pittsburg</i> .	300
3. <i>Choctaws</i> ,	<i>Mississippi</i> , above <i>New Orleans</i> ,	2,000
4. <i>Lazar</i> ,	<i>Ohio</i> , from its mouth towards <i>Wabash</i> ,	400
5. <i>Ilionois</i> ,	<i>Mississippi</i> , above the mouth of <i>Ohio</i> ,*	400
6. <i>Waugweoughtanues</i> ,	On the <i>Wabash</i> ,	200
7. <i>Twightwees</i> ,	<i>Miame River</i> ,	300
8. <i>Pianguisbarws</i> ,	Head of <i>Wabash</i> ,	300
9. <i>Wayondots</i> ,	<i>Fort de Troit</i> , and <i>Chenundea</i> , &c.	300
10. <i>Ottowas</i> , <i>Cheporwas</i> , <i>Putawatimes</i> , <i>Melbominys</i> , or <i>Shockeys</i> , nations confederate, like the <i>Six Nations</i> , on the west side of <i>Lake Erie</i> , partly in sight of <i>Fort de Troit</i> ,		2,000
11. <i>Nottoweaßes</i> , (called by the <i>French, Le Zue</i>) on a river parallel with the <i>Mississippi</i> , in a country of 2,000 miles extent; sometimes called <i>Welsh Indians</i> ,		10,000

12. *Musquakees*,

* The *French* raised good wheat here.

it. The people in it are known by the names of, *Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senekas, and Tuscaroras.**

“ Each of these nations is again divided into three tribes, or families, who distinguish themselves by three different arms, or ensigns, viz.

Their distinctions.

VOL. II.

[38]

the

12. <i>Musquakes,</i>	On the <i>Mississippi,</i>	200
13. <i>Sagasey,</i>	Lower down the <i>Mississippi,</i>	200
14. <i>Webings,</i>	Lower down the river, &c. these three mostly destroyed by the French,	200
15. <i>Ouasays,</i> called by the French <i>Le grand Zue,</i> on White Creek, a branch of the <i>Mississippi,</i>		4,000
16. <i>Linways,</i>	<i>Mississippi,</i>	1,000
17. <i>Missury,</i>	<i>Mississippi,</i> opposite the <i>Illinois</i> country,	400
18. <i>Kekopos,</i> about 80 miles beyond Fort de Troit,		600

The whole number of fighting men in these nations at that time 23,400

In which account the following are not included, viz.

Cherokees, to the southward, fighting men supposed near 1,500

Creeks, or *Chicasas* near as many, 1,500

Mingoes, or *Five Nations,* with the several small tribes, incorporated among them, as the *Nanticokes, Menesinks,* &c. amounting to above 1,500

Total 27,900

If the fighting men be computed at one in five of all the inhabitants, this account will make the whole number 139,500

Besides, “ In an historical account, printed in Philadelphia, of the expedition against the *Ohio* Indians, in 1764, under the command of Colonel *Bouquet,* there is a list of the *Indian nations* of *Canada* and *Louisiana,* said to be from good authority, and that the account may be depended on, so far as a matter of this kind can be brought near the truth; in which it is asserted, there are fifty-six thousand five hundred and eighty fighting men, of such *Indians* as the *French* were connected with, in *Canada* and *Louisiana.*” MS.

If the rest of the inhabitants in these countries be computed in the same proportion as above, they will amount to 282,500.

* “ The *Indians,* situated northward of *Pennsylvania,* or between thence and the lakes, &c. have been otherwise described since, as consisting of three leagues; the *Senekas, Mohawks* and *Onondagoes,* who are called the fathers, compose the first; the *Oneydas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes* and *Conoys* (which are united into one tribe) and the *Tuteloos,* compose the second league; and these two leagues make up what is called the *Six Nations;* the third league is formed of the *Chibabocki,* (or *Delawares*) the *Wanami,* the *Munseys, Mobiecons* and *Wappingers.*”

the *tortoise*, the *bear*, and the *wolf*; and the *sachems*, or *old men*, of these families, put this ensign, or mark, of their family, to every public paper, when they sign it.

Govern-
ment and
police.

“ Each of these nations is an absolute republic, and is governed, in all public affairs, by its own *sachems*, or *old men*; the authority of these rulers is gained by, and consists wholly in, the opinion the rest of the natives have of their wisdom and integrity. They never execute their resolutions by force, upon any of their people. Honour and esteem are their principal rewards; as shame, and being despised, their punishments. They have certain customs, which they observe, in their public transactions, with other nations, and in their private affairs among themselves; which it is scandalous for any among them not to observe; and these always draw after them either public or private resentment, whenever they are broken.

“ Their leaders and captains, in like manner, obtain their authority by the general opinion of their courage and conduct, and lose it by a failure in these virtues.

Their free
and inde-
pendent
state, &c.

“ Their great men, both *sachems* and *captains*, are generally poorer than the common people; for they affect to give away and distribute all the presents and plunder, they get in their treaties, and in war, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a man in the ministry of the *Five Nations*, who has gained his office otherwise, than by merit; there is not the least salary, or any sort of profit, annexed to any office, to tempt the covetous or fordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commission; for their authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost. Here we see the natural origin of all power and authority,
among

among a free people ; and whatever artificial power, or sovereignty, any man may have acquired, by the laws and constitution of a country, his real power will be ever much greater, or less, in proportion to the esteem the people have of him.*

“ The *Five Nations* think themselves, by nature, superior to the rest of mankind, and call themselves *Ongue-honwe*, that is, *men surpassing all others*. This opinion, which they take care to inculcate into their children, gives them that courage, which has been so terrible to all the nations of *North America* ; and they have taken such care to impress the same opinion of their people on all their neighbours, that, on all occasions, they yield the most submissive obedience to them.” “ The *Tuscaroras*, after the war they had with the people of *Carolina*, fled to the *Five Nations*, and are now incorporated with them ; so that they now properly indeed consist of *Six Nations*. ”

Their high opinion of themselves, &c.

“ There is one vice, which all the Indians have fallen into, since their acquaintance with the *Christians* ; of which they could not be guilty before that time, that is, *drunkenness*. It is strange how all the Indian nations, and almost every person among them, male and female, are infatuated with the love of *strong drink* ; they know no bounds to their desire, while they can swallow it down ; and then indeed, the greatest man among them scarcely deserves the name of a brute.

Drunkenness common to the Indians, &c

“ They never have been taught to conquer any passion, but by some contrary passion ; and the traders, with whom they chiefly converse, are so far from giving them any abhorrence of this vice, that they encourage it all they can, not only for the

* “ All affairs, which concern the general interest, are determined in a great assembly of the chiefs of each *canton*, annually held, at *Onondago*, the center of their country, (in north latitude 42° 55'). Upon emergencies they act separately ; but nothing can bind the league, but the voice of the general convention.”

the profit of the liquor they sell, but that they may have an opportunity to impose upon them. And this, as they chiefly drink spirits, has destroyed greater numbers, than all their wars and diseases put together.

The history
of the Five
Nations ob-
scure, &c.

“As to the history of the *Five Nations*,” (says *Smith*, in his history of *New-York*) “before their acquaintance with the *Europeans*, it is wrapt up in the darkness of antiquity. It is said that their first residence was in the country about *Mont-real*;^{*} and that the superior strength of the *Adirondacks*, whom the French call *Algonquins*, drove them into their present possessions, lying on the south side of the *Mohawks* river, and the great lake *Ontario*. Towards the close of those disputes, which continued for a great series of years, the *Confederates* gained advantages over the *Adirondacks*, and struck a general terror into all the *Indians*. The *Hurons*, on the north side of lake *Erie*, and the *Cat Indians*, on the south side were totally conquered and dispersed. The *French*, who settled in *Canada*, in 1603, took umbrage at this success, and began a war with them, which had well nigh ruined their new colony.

Their lan-
guage, &c.

“As to the language of these people (says the same author) except the *Tuscaroras*, all the *Six Nations* speak a language radically the same. It is very masculine and sonorous, abounding with gutturals, and strong aspirations, but without labials.†

Its

^{*} *Ville Marie*, in the isle of *Mont-real*, in the river St. Lawrence, is in north latitude 45° 27′.

† “They have but few radical words; but they compound their words without end; by this their language becomes sufficiently copious, and leaves room for a good deal of art, to please a delicate ear. Sometimes one word, among them, includes an entire definition of a thing; for example, they call wine, *Oneharadeschoengtferagherie*, as to say, *a liquor made of the juice of the grape*. The words expressing things, lately come to their knowledge, are all compounds: they have no labials in their language; nor can they pronounce perfectly any word, wherein there is a labial; and when one endeavours to teach them to pronounce these words,

Its solemn, grave tone is owing to the generosity of its feet, as may be observed in the following translation of the *Lord's Prayer*; in which is distinguished the time of every syllable, by the common marks, used in prosody.

The Lord's Prayer, in the language of the Six Nation Indians.

Soūngwāunchă, cāurōunkyāugă, tēhscētāroān, fāulwōnēyōūstă, ēfă, fāwānēyōu, ōkēttāūhscělă, ēhnēāūwoūng, nă, cāurōunkyāugă, nūgh, wōnshāugă, nēättēwēhnēfălăugă, tāugwāunāutōrōnō-antōūghfick, tōantāngwēlēēwhēyōūstāūng, chēnēēyeūt, chāquātaūtălēywhēyōūstāūnnă, tōughfău, tāugwāuffărēnēh, tāwantōttēnăugăloūgh-tōūnggă, năfāwnē, fāchēautāugwāfs, cōntēhfălōhāūnzăikăw, ēfă, fāwānēyōu, ēfă, fāshautztă, ēfă, soūngwāfōūng, chēnnēāuhāūngwă, āuwēn.

Pater noster, in the Indian language.

“ The extraordinary length of *Indian* words, and the guttural aspirations necessary in pronouncing them, render the speech extremely rough and difficult. The verbs never change in their terminations, as in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; but all their variations are prefixed. A strange transposition of syllables of different words, *Euphonia gratiâ*, is very common in the Indian tongue; of which I will give an instance: ōgillă, signifies *fire*, and cāwāūnnă, *great*, but instead of joining the adjective and substantive, to say *great fire*, cāwāūnnă ōgillă, both words would be blended into this one, cō-gillă-wāūnnă.

“ The dialect of the *Oneydos* is softer than that of the other nations, and the reason is, because they have more vowels, and often supply the place of
of

words, they tell one, they think it ridiculous, that they must shut their lips to speak. Their language abounds with gutturals, and strong aspirations; these make it very sonorous and bold; and their speeches abound with metaphors, after the manner of the eastern nations.”

Governor Golden, &c.

of harsh letters with liquids. Instead of *R*, they always use *L*. *Rebecca* would be pronounced *Le-quecca*.

Their art
and method
of public
speaking,
&c.

“ The art of public speaking is in high esteem among the Indians, and much studied. They are extremely fond of method, and displeased with an irregular harrangue, because it is difficult to be remembered. When they answer, they repeat the whole, reducing it into strict order. Their speeches are short, and the sense conveyed in strong metaphors. In conversation they are sprightly, but solemn and serious in their messages relating to public affairs. Their speakers deliver themselves with surprising force, and great propriety of gesture. The fierceness of their countenances, the flowing blanket, elevated tone, naked arm, and erect stature, with a half circle of auditors seated on the ground, cannot but impress on the mind a lively idea of the ancient orators of *Greece* and *Rome*.

Belts and
strings of
wampum,
&c.

“ At the clause of every important part of a speech, ratifying an old covenant, or creating a new one, a belt is generally given, to perpetuate the remembrance of the transaction. These belts are about four inches wide, and thirty in length. They consist of strings of conque-shell beads fastened together.*

Of the Indians of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Indians of
Pennsylvania
and
New Jersey

THE Indians of *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, like the *Six Nations*, observed the greatest decorum in their councils and public transactions, and in

* These beads, which pass for money, are called by the *Indians*, *Wampum*, and by the *Dutch*, *Servant*. Six beads were formerly valued at a styver (one penny sterling.) There are always several poor families at *Albany*, who support themselves by coining this cash for the traders.” *Ibid*.

———“ They treasured these belts, when delivered to them in treaties, and kept them as records of the nation, to have recourse to upon future contests; which ceremony, at said treaties, being omitted, all they said passed for nothing.” *Smith's History of New Jersey*.

in all their discourses and conversation; their language, like theirs, being lofty and sententious: very seldom, or never, more than two held a discourse at one and the same time, in any one company, though never so large; in which they never interrupted or contradicted each other, while speaking, but always waited in silence till he, that was speaking, had finished what he had to say, before an answer was returned, or any other speech attempted; all the rest remaining in profound silence till their turn, without either murmur or whisper.

Smith's history of New Jersey

As to their persons, they are generally more upright and strait, in their limbs, than *Europeans* are; their bodies strong, but more adapted to endure hardships than to sustain labour: they are very rarely crooked or deformed. Their features are regular; their countenances sometimes fierce, in common rather resembling *Jews* than *Christians*; the colour of their skin, a tawney, reddish brown, or copper colour: they all have long, strait, black hair on their heads, which they grease, and make it shine, with bear's fat, especially the women, who tie it behind in a large knot, and sometimes in a bag. They are hardy, lean, and squalid, and the whole manner of their lives uniform. They sometimes paint, or streak, their faces with black, when in mourning; but with red, when their affairs go well. It is said, they have no beards, but whether it be so universally or not, among them, it is certain they have an aversion to hairs growing on their faces; for they always pull them out by the roots, when any appear, &c.

Their persons, &c.

Though they are much given to mirth, yet they are sometimes grave, even to sadness, upon common, and more so upon serious occasions. They are very generous and liberal of what they have; not easily provoked to anger; nor soon appeased when

Their general turn of mind and love of liberty, &c.

when incensed. But liberty, in the fullest extent, is their ruling passion; to this every other consideration is subservient. Their children are so trained up, as to cherish this disposition to the utmost; they are very much indulged, seldom chastised with blows, and but rarely reproved, or checked. They leave their children's faults for their own reason to correct, when they are grown up; which, they say, cannot be very great, before it arrives at some degree of maturity. They abhor what appears to have a slavish motive to action, as inconsistent with their notion of freedom and independency; even strong and importunate persuasion is industriously avoided by them, as bordering too much on dependency, and a kind of violence offered to the will; they dread slavery more than death. They never liked to be asked their judgment twice upon the same thing.

Their customs, employments, &c.

Their property was little, and their anxiety to increase it was less;* their intercourse naturally free and unfettered with ceremony. No ideas of state and grandeur; no homage of wealth, office, birth, or learning; no pride of house, habit, or furniture; very little emulation of any kind, to interrupt; these common causes of the violation and preventions of friendships had no place with them. They were constant and steady in their attachments to each other, and, in many instances, far exceeded what might be expected. Their chief employment was hunting, fishing and fowling; making canoes, bowls, and other earthen ware; in all which they were ingenious, considering the means used. Their women's business principally consisted of planting *Indian corn*, parching, or roasting it, pounding it to meal, in mortars, or breaking it between stones, making bread, and

* "An Indian, in answer to this question, " *What did the white people mean by the word, covetousness?* was told by another person, *That it signified a desire of more than a man had need of; That is a strange thing,* replied the Indian.

and dressing victuals. They also made mats, ropes, hats, and baskets (some very ingeniously) of wild hemp, and roots, or splits of trees. Besides these and their toil of hunting, they had but few exercises to fatigue them; and this they sweetened with frequently meeting in companies, to feast, dance, and make merry; in short, a life of dissipation and ease, of uncertainty and want, of appetite, satiety, indolence, and sleep, seemed to be the sum of their character, and the summit, to which their wishes aspired."

In their customs and employments, they were very loving to one another, taking great care of each other in sickness, while hopes of life remained, but afterwards sometimes remiss. If a company of them came to a *Christian's* house, and the master of it gave victuals to one of them, and none to the rest, that one divided what was given him into equal shares among his companions. If *Christians* visited them, they served them first, with the best of their victuals. Their times of eating were commonly the morning and evening; their seats and tables, the ground. They lived much on *maize*, or *Indian corn*, roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, called *homine*: they also made an agreeable cake of the ground corn, and raised beans and peas; but the woods and rivers afforded them the chief part of their provisions.

They were great observers of the *weather*, by the moon; they delighted in *fine clothes*; and were uneasy and impatient, in sickness, for a remedy: for which they commonly drank a decoction of roots, in spring water; forbearing flesh meat, excepting of the female only, when in such case they used any. They were naturally reserved, apt to resent, to conceal their resentments, and retain them long; but they were liberal and ge-

nerous, kind and affable to the *English*. They were punctual in their bargains; and observed this so much in others, that it was very difficult for a person, who had once failed in this particular, to get any dealings with them afterwards: they were strict observers of property; yet, to the last degree, thoughtless and inactive in acquiring or keeping it. They did justice to one another, for crimes among themselves, in a manner peculiar to them; even murder might be atoned by feasts, and presents of *wampum*: the price of a woman killed was twice as much as that of a man; because, said they, *she bred children, which men could not do*. When sober, they rarely quarrelled among themselves. They lived to sixty, seventy, and eighty years, and more, before *rum* was introduced among them, but seldom so long afterwards.

Their
houses,
dress, &c.

Their houses, or *wigwams*, were sometimes many together, in towns; but mostly moveable, and occasionally fixed near springs, or other waters, for conveniency of hunting, fishing, basket-making, &c. built of poles, laid on forked sticks fixed in the ground, with bark, flags, or bushes, on the top and sides; having an opening to the south, and their fire in the middle. In the night they slept on the ground, with their feet towards the fire. Their cloathing was a coarse blanket, or skin, thrown over their shoulders, which covered to the knee, and a piece of the same tied round their legs; with part of a deer skin sewed round their feet, for shoes. When a company travelled together, they generally followed each other, in a row singly, and in silence; scarcely ever two being seen abreast, or by the side of each other: the man went before with his bow and arrow; the woman followed after, not uncommonly with a child on her back, and other burdens besides; the woman generally carrying the luggage.

Mode of
travelling,
&c.

Their

Their young men married at sixteen or seventeen years of age, if before that time they had given a sufficient proof of their manhood, by a large return of skins. The girls married at about thirteen or fourteen, but resided with their mothers, for some years after marriage, to *hoe* the ground, bear burdens, &c. The young women were originally very modest, but distinguished themselves, when at a marriageable state, or age, with a kind of worked mats, or red, or blue bays, interspersed with small rows of white and black *wampum*, put round the head, down to near the middle of the forehead. Both the young and old women were highly offended at indecent expressions, unless corrupted with strong liquor. Their marriage ceremony was sometimes thus:—the relations and friends being present, the *bridegroom* delivered a *bone* to the bride, and she gave him an ear of *Indian corn*; meaning, that he was to provide flesh meat, and she, bread. It was not unusual, notwithstanding, to change their mates upon disagreement; the children went with the party that loved them most, the expence being of no moment to either; but in case of difference, or disagreement, on this head, the man was allowed the first choice, when the children were divided, or when there was but one; but, for the most part, agreeable to the *Indian* rule, in such cases, *partus sequitur ventrem*, the children, or young, go with the mother; which is as reasonable among them, as among cattle, since the whole burden of bringing up falls on her. They commonly washed their children in cold water, as soon as born; and to make their limbs strait, they tied them to a board, and hung them on their backs, when they travelled. Their children usually walked alone at nine months old. From their infancy they were formed with care to endure hardships,

Their marriages, births, and burials.

Management of their children, &c.

to

to bear derision, and even blows, patiently—at least, with a composed countenance.

Their skill
and ingenu-
ity in some
things, &c.

Their small knowledge of numbers appeared in their manner of counting, which was by tens, that is, two tens, three tens, four tens, &c. but when the number was above their comprehension, they pointed to the stars, to the hairs of their head, &c. and they kept reckoning of time by moons. Their ingenuity appeared in several of their mechanic inventions and performances; as, in their manner of pointing their arrows, with a sharp, flinty stone; and in their making of their axes, of the same materials, for cutting their wood; which are often found, and dug up in the fields, with other kinds of their implements. They got fire by rubbing certain pieces of wood together of different sorts, turning the end of a hard piece upon the side of one which was soft and dry. By the means of fire and their stone axes, they felled large trees, and afterwards scooped them into bowls and other utensils. They were very studious in observing the virtues of roots and herbs, by which they usually cured themselves of diseases, both by outward and inward applications; besides which they frequently used *sweating* and the *cold bath*.*

Their go-
vernment.

Their government, in these parts, was monarchical and successive, or hereditary; but mostly on the mother's side, to prevent a spurious issue; that is, the children of him who reigns will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children

* Their manner of *sweating* the patient was, first, to inclose him in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which was a red hot stone; this being frequently wetted with water, made a warm vapour; with which and his own sweat, the patient being sufficiently wet, was immediately, in this condition, brought to the nearest creek, or river, and plunged into it. This was repeated as often as was thought necessary; and sometimes was said to have performed great cures; but at other times killed the patient, notwithstanding the hardy natures of the *Indians*, especially in the *small pox*, and other *European* diseases.

children of his sister; whose sons were to reign; and after them, the male children of her daughters; for no women inherited.

Notwithstanding this mode of succession of their kings, yet, for extraordinary reasons, it was sometimes altered; of which appears an instance in *S. Smith's* history of *New Jersey*, in the case of the old king *Ockanickon*, who died at *Burlington*, in that province, about the year 1681: before his death he altered the succession; and instead of *Sheoppy* and *Swampis*, who, in regular order, were to have succeeded him, he, for reasons in his speech there given, appointed his brother's son, *Jabkursoe*, to succeed him, giving him some excellent advice on the occasion. This king, as there related, soon after this, made a good and pious exit; and his remains were interred in the *Quakers'* burying ground, at that place, being attended to the grave with solemnity by the *Indians*, in their manner, and with great respect by many of the *English* settlers; to whom he had been a true friend,

That formality, which, in the European style, or acceptation of the term, constitutes what is commonly called religion, seems to have made but little appearance among them, though probably they had some customs no less irrational and ridiculous, in the eye of reason; but they were acquainted with the principle of justice and truth; which, by their conduct, they demonstrated, in a high degree, so far as the most judicious among the first and early *English* settlers observed, and inform us. And it were to be wished that what notions they had of a Deity, and their actions relative to their duty to him, had not, in part, been misrepresented by any; who, by attempting to give an account of what they did not, or could not, fully understand, have supplied that deficiency with conjectures,

Of their
religion,
&c.

conjectures, perhaps without design of misrepresentation, and thereby, in some things, disguised, or obscured, what was really known respecting some of them, in this case.

The Indians
averse
to European
customs,
&c.

It is well known they were very much averse to *European* religion and customs, unless in such things as they could comprehend, and clearly understand were for their real benefit; yet, in this, sometimes their passions prevailed over their better understanding; instance, their drunkenness, &c. But though they hoped and desired success did not so fully attend the labours bestowed on them, and the means used, both by *William Penn* himself, in person, and by divers others of the more pious and early settlers, whose good example was very remarkable, with the later endeavours since continued, to inform the judgment of the *Indians*, in these provinces, in religious affairs, to acquaint them with the principles and advantage of *Christianity*, to restrain them from some things, acknowledged by themselves to be manifestly pernicious, particularly from abusing themselves with *strong liquor*, by law, as well as advice, &c. so much as might reasonably have been wished, or expected; yet these very labours and means were far from being useless, or entirely without good effect; for the consequence declared that the *Indians*, in general, were sensible of the kind regard paid them, and of the good intended thereby; which they shewed and proved by their future conduct, and steady friendship; as appears in the preceding history, though they generally refused, in a formal manner, to embrace *European manners, religion and opinions*: “For, governed by their own customs, and not by laws, creeds, &c. they greatly revered those of their ancestors, and followed them so implicitly, that a new thought, or action, seldom took place among them.”

S. Smith.

They

They are thought (says *William Penn*) to have believed in a God and immortality; and seemed to aim at a public worship: in performing this, they sometimes sat in several circles, one within another: the action consisted of singing, jumping, shouting, and dancing; which they are said to have used, mostly as a tradition from their ancestors, rather than from any knowledge, or enquiry of their own into the serious parts of its origin.

See William Penn's account of the Indians.

They said the great King, who made them, dwelt in a glorious country to the southward; and that the spirits of the best should go thither, and live again. Their most solemn worship was a sacrifice of the *first fruits*; in which they burned the first and fattest buck, and feasted together upon what else they had collected. In this sacrifice they broke no bones of any creature, which they ate; but after they had done, they gathered them together, and burned them very carefully. They distinguished between a *good and evil Manetta*, or *Spirit*; worshipping the former for the good, they hoped; and, it is said, some of them, the latter, that they might not be afflicted with the *evil*, which they feared; so slavishly dark are some of them represented to have been in their understandings! But whether this last be true, in a general sense, or peculiar only to some parts, it was certainly not the case at all among the *Indians* within the limits of these provinces, or, at least, very much concealed from the first and early settlers of them.

But in late years it is less to be admired that the *Indians*, in these provinces, and their vicinity, have shewn so little regard to the *Christian* religion, but rather treated it, as well as its professors, with contempt and abhorrence, when it is duly considered what kind of *Christians* those generally are, with whom they mostly deal and converse;

Reasons for the Indians' aversion to Christianity, &c.

as,

as, the *Indian* traders, and most of the inhabitants of the back counties of this and the neighbouring provinces, who have chiefly represented the professors of *Christianity* among them, for many years!* *viz.* such of the lowest rank, and least informed, of mankind, who have flowed in from *Germany, Ireland,* and the *jails of Great Britain,* and settled next them, as well as those, who flee from justice in the settled, or better inhabited parts of the country, and retire among them, that they might be out of the reach of the laws, &c. the least qualified to exhibit favourable ideas of this kind; but it is most certain they have done the contrary; insomuch that, it were to be wished the cause of the late unhappy *Indian war* within the limits of these provinces, did not take its rise, in no small degree, from the want of common justice, in the conduct of too many of these people towards them: for notwithstanding the general ignorance of the *Indians* in many things, especially of *European* arts and inventions, yet in things of

* The trade between the *English* and the *Indians*, in later years especially, has been mostly carried on by the vilest, and most abandoned part of the community: the *Indians* have long had but very little opportunity to converse with any other kind of *Christians*, besides these, who go most among them: from the lives and conduct of these they judge of *Christianity*, and *European* manners, &c. This is mentioned in a treatise, printed in *London*, in 1759, as one cause, among others, of the first war, that commenced with them in *Pennsylvania*, about the year 1754; wherein is likewise expressed; "It would be too shocking to describe the conduct and behaviour of the traders, when among the *Indians*, and endless to enumerate the abuses, the *Indians* had received and borne from them, for a series of years. Suffice it to say, that several of the tribes were, at last, weary of bearing. And as these traders were the persons, who were, in some part, the representatives of the *English* among the *Indians*; and by whom they were to judge of our *manners* and *religion*, they conceived such invincible prejudices against both, particularly against our *holy religion*, that when *Mr. Serjeant*, a gentleman in *New England*, took a journey, in 1741, to the *Sbarwanese*, and some other tribes, living on *Susquahanna*, and offered to instruct them in the *Christian religion*, they rejected his offer with disdain. They reproached *Christianity*. They told him the traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their women, and even their wives, if their husbands were not at home. They said further, that the *Senecas* had given them their country, but charged them withal, never to receive *Christianity* from the *English*," &c.

of this kind they rely more on experience, than theory; and they mostly formed their judgment of the *English*, or *Europeans*, and of their *religion* and *customs*, not from the words, but from the actions and *manners* of those, with whom they most conversed and transacted business.*

VOL. II.

[40]

For,

* The following has been printed in *Pennsylvania*, as a genuine speech of an *Indian chief* in that province; but whether it be really so, or not, it certainly contains arguments, which have been used by some of these people, and, in this place, may serve, in part, to give some *idea* of their sentiments on the subject: it is thus first introduced, *viz.*

“ In, or about the year of our Lord, 1710, a *Swedish Missionary* preached a sermon, at an *Indian* treaty, held at *Conestogoe* in *Pennsylvania*; in which sermon he set forth *original sin*, the necessity of a *Mediator*; and endeavoured, by certain arguments, to induce the *Indians* to embrace the *Christian religion*. After he had ended his discourse, one of the *Indian* chiefs made a *speech* in reply to the sermon; and the discourses, on both sides, were made known by interpreters. The *Missionary*, upon his return to *Sweden*, published his sermon, and the *Indian's* answer. Having wrote them in *Latin*, he dedicated them to the university of *Upsal*, and requested them to furnish him with arguments, to confute such strong reasoning of the *Indians*. The *Indian speech*, translated from the *Latin*, is as follows,” *viz.*

“ A *speech* delivered by an *Indian chief*, in reply to a sermon, preached by a *Swedish Missionary*, in order to convert the *Indians* to the *Christian religion*.

“ Since the subject of his (the *Missionary's*) errand is to persuade us to embrace a new doctrine, perhaps it may not be amiss, before we offer him the reasons, why we cannot comply with his request, to acquaint him with the grounds and principles of that religion, which he would have us abandon.

“ Our forefathers were under a strong persuasion, as we are, that those, who act well, in this life, shall be rewarded in the next, according to the degree of their virtue: and on the other hand, that those, who behave wickedly here, will undergo such punishments hereafter, as are proportionate to the crimes they were guilty of. This hath been constantly and invariably received and acknowledged for a truth, through every successive generation of our ancestors. It could not have taken its rise from fable; for human fiction, however artfully and plausibly contrived, can never gain credit long, among any people, where free enquiry is allowed; which was never denied by our ancestors; who, on the contrary, thought it the sacred, inviolable, natural right of every man, to examine and judge for himself. Therefore we think it evident that our notion, concerning future rewards and punishments, was either revealed immediately from heaven, to some of our forefathers, and from them descended to us, or, that it was implanted in each of us, at our creation, by the Creator of all things. Whatever the methods might have been, whereby God hath been pleased to make known to us his will, and give us a knowledge of our duty, it is still, in our sense, a *divine revelation*.

“ Now

Indians not
destitute of
a sense of
God and
true reli-
gion.

For, however ignorant and averse to *European* refinement, and ways of thinking, on religious subjects, the *Indians*, in general, might appear to have been, yet, as in all other nations of mankind, it is most certain there were some among them of a more exalted way of thinking, and enlightened

“ Now we desire to propose to him some few questions. Does he believe that our forefathers, men, eminent for their piety, constant and warm in the pursuit of virtue, hoping thereby to merit everlasting happiness, were all *damned*? Does he think that we, who are their zealous imitators, in good works, and influenced by the same motives as they were, earnestly endeavouring, with the greatest circumspection, to tread the paths of integrity, are in a state of *damnation*? If these be his sentiments, they are surely as impious as they are bold and daring.

“ In the next place, we beg that he would explain himself more particularly concerning the *revelation* he talks of. If he admits no other, than what is contained in his *written book*, the contrary is evident, from what has been shewn before: but, if he says, God has revealed himself to us, but not sufficient for our salvation; then, we ask, to what purpose should he have revealed himself to us in any wise? It is clear, that a *revelation*, insufficient to save, cannot put us in a better condition, than we should be in, without any revelation at all. We cannot conceive that God should point out to us the end, we ought to aim at, without opening to us the way to arrive at that end. But, supposing our understandings to be so far illuminated, as to know it to be our duty to please God, who yet hath left us under an incapacity of doing it, will this *Missionary*, therefore, conclude that we shall be *eternally damned*? Will he take upon him to pronounce damnation against us, for not doing those things, which he himself acknowledges were impossible by us to be done? It is our opinion that every man is possessed of sufficient knowledge for his salvation. The *Almighty*, for any thing we know, may have communicated the knowledge of himself to a different race of people, in a different manner.

“ Some say, they have the will of God in *writing*: be it so; their *revelation* has no advantage above ours; since both must be equally sufficient to save; otherwise the end of the revelation would be frustrated. Besides, if they be both true, they must be the same in substance; and the difference can only lie in the mode of communication. He tells us there are many precepts in his *written revelation*, which we are entirely ignorant of. But these *written commands* can only be designed for those, who have the *writings*; they cannot possibly regard us. Had the *Almighty* thought so much knowledge necessary to our salvation, his goodness would not long have deferred the communication of it to us: and to say, that, in a matter so necessary, he could not, at one and the same time, equally reveal himself to all mankind, is nothing less than an absolute denial of his omnipotence. Without doubt he can make his will manifest, without the help of any *book*, or the assistance of any *bookish man* whatever.

“ We shall, in the next place, consider the arguments, which arise from a consideration of *Providence*. If we are the work of God, (which I presume will not be denied) it follows from thence, that we are under
the

lightened understandings, who, notwithstanding the great absurdities, among the generality, were not without some degree of a just sense and acknowledgment of the providential care and regard of the *Almighty Creator* over the human race, both in a general and particular capacity, and, even, of divine *grace* and influence on the human mind, and that independent of foreign information, or instruction: of this their immediate sense and understanding of mental objects, which, is most manifest, many of them possessed, even of the highest nature, are very demonstrative; besides, part, at least, of their traditions, from their ancestors, whose prime original, so far as it is founded in truth, must necessarily have first arisen from the divine Intelligence, though communicated in different degree to different parts of the human race,
and

the care and protection of God: for, it cannot be supposed that the *Deity* should abandon his own creatures, and be utterly regardless of their welfare. Then, to say, that the *Almighty* hath permitted us to remain in a fatal error, through so many ages, is to represent him as a tyrant: how is it consistent with his justice, to force life upon a race of mortals, without their consent, and then *damn them eternally*, without ever opening to them a door of salvation? Our conceptions of the *gracious God* are more noble; and we think that those, who teach otherwise, do little less than *blaspheme*. Again, it is through the care and goodness of the *Almighty*, that from the beginning of time, through many generations, to this day, our name has been preserved, unblotted out by enemies, un-reduced to nothing. By the same care we now enjoy our lives; are furnished with the necessary means of preserving those lives. But all these things are trifling, compared with our salvation.

“ Therefore, since God hath been so careful of us, in matters of little consequence, it would be absurd to affirm, that he has neglected us, in cases of the greatest importance. Admit, that he hath forsaken us, yet it could not have been without a just cause. Let us suppose, that an *heinous crime* was committed by one of our ancestors, like to that, which we are told, happened among another race of people; in such case, God would certainly punish the *criminal*, but would never involve us, who are innocent, in his guilt. Those who think otherwise must make the *Almighty* a very *whimsical, ill-natured being*. Once more, are the *Christians* more virtuous? or, rather, are they not more vicious, than we are? If so, how came it to pass, that they are the objects of God’s beneficence, while we are neglected? Does the *Deity* confer his favours without reason, and with so much partiality? In a word, we find the *Christians* much more depraved, in their morals, than ourselves; and we judge of their doctrine by the *badness of their lives*.”

and though much of such tradition may be mixt with imagination and absurdity.

Religion of
the Indians.

The following letter of *Conrad Weiser* to a friend, respecting the *Indians*, on this subject, is informing. The author was born in *Germany*, and was many years *Indian* interpreter for the province; and consequently was well acquainted with these people: he was highly esteemed by both the *English* and *Indians*, as a person of integrity, skill and ability, in the discharge of divers important trusts, which had been committed to him by both parties, for a long series of years: the letter translated from the *German* language, is thus expressed, viz.

“ *Esteemed Friend,*

Conrad
Weiser's
letter re-
specting it.

“ I write this, in compliance with thy request, to give thee an account of what I have observed among the *Indians*, in relation to their belief and confidence in a *Divine Being*, according to the observations I have made, from 1714, in the time of my youth, to this day, (about the year 1746).

“ If, by the word *religion*, people mean an assent to certain creeds, or the observance of a set of *religious* duties; as, appointed prayers, singings, preaching, baptism, &c. or, even, *Heathenish worship*, then it may be said, the *Five Nations*, and their neighbours, have no *religion*. But, if, by *religion*, we mean an *attraction* of the soul to God, whence proceeds a confidence in, and hunger after, the knowledge of him, then this people must be allowed to have some *religion* among them, notwithstanding their sometimes savage deportment. For we find among them some tracts of a confidence in God alone; and, even, sometimes, though but seldom, a vocal calling upon him: I shall give one or two instances of this, that fell under my own observation.

“ In

“ In the year 1737, I was sent, the first time, to *Onondago*, at the desire of the Governor of *Virginia*. I departed in the latter end of February, very unexpectedly, for a journey of five hundred *English* miles, through a wilderness, where there was neither road nor path, and at such a time of the year, when creatures (animals) could not be met with, for food. There were with me a *Dutchman* and three *Indians*. After we had gone one hundred and fifty miles on our journey, we came to a narrow valley, about half a mile broad, and thirty long; both sides of which were encompassed with high mountains; on which the snow laid about three feet deep: in it ran a stream of water, also about three feet deep; which was so crooked, that it kept a continued winding course from one side of the valley to the other. In order to avoid wading so often through the water, we endeavoured to pass along on the slope of the mountain; the snow being three feet deep, and so hard frozen, on the top, that we could walk upon it: but we were obliged to make holes in the snow with our hatchets, that our feet might not slip down the mountain; and thus we crept on. It happened that the *old Indian's* foot slipped; and the root of a tree, by which he held, breaking, he slid down the mountain, as from the roof of a house; but happily he was stopped in his fall, by the string, which fastened his pack, hitching on the stump of a small tree. The other two *Indians* could not go to his aid, but our *Dutch* fellow-traveller did; yet not without visible danger of his own life. I also could not put a foot forward, till I was helped; after this we took the first opportunity to descend into the valley; which was not till after we had laboured hard for half an hour with hands and feet. Having observed a tree lying directly off, from where the *Indian* fell, when we were got into the valley again, we went back
about

about one hundred paces, where we saw, that if the *Indian* had slipped four or five paces further, he would have fallen over a rock, one hundred feet perpendicular, upon craggy pieces of rocks below. The *Indian* was astonished, and turned quite pale; then with out-stretched arms, and great earnestness he spoke these words: “*I thank the great Lord and Governor of this world, in that he has had mercy upon me, and has been willing that I should live longer.*” Which words I, at that time, put down in my journal: this happened on the 25th of March, 1737.

“ In the 9th of April following, while we were yet on our journey, I found myself extremely weak, through the fatigue of so long a journey, with the cold and hunger, which I had suffered; there having fallen a fresh snow about twenty inches deep, and we being yet three days journey from *Onondago*, in a frightful wilderness; my spirit failed, my body trembled and shook; I thought I should fall down and die; I slept aside, and sat down under a tree, expecting there to die. My companions soon missed me; the *Indians* came back, and found me sitting there. They remained awhile silent; at last, the old *Indian* said, “*My dear companion, thou hast hitherto encouraged us, wilt thou now quite give up? remember that evil days are better than good days: for when we suffer much, we do not sin; sin will be driven out of us by suffering: but good days cause men to sin; and God cannot extend his mercy to them; but contrarywise, when it goeth evil with us, God hath compassion upon us.*” These words made me ashamed; I rose up, and travelled as well as I could.

“ The next year I went another journey to *Onondago*, in company with *Joseph Spanhenberg* and two others. It happened that an *Indian* came to us in the evening, who had neither shoes, stockings,

ings, shirt, gun, knife, nor hatchet; in a word, he had nothing but an old torn blanket, and some rags. Upon enquiring whither he was going, he answered to *Onondago*. I knew him, and asked him how he could undertake a journey of three hundred miles so naked and unprovided, having no provisions, nor any arms, to kill creatures, for his sustenance? He answered, he had been among enemies, and had been obliged to save himself by flight; and so had lost all. This was true, in part; for he had disposed of some of his things among the *Irish*, for strong liquors. Upon further talk, he told me very chearfully; “That *God* fed every thing, which had life, even, the rattle snake itself, though it was a bad creature; and that *God* would also provide, in such a manner, that he should get alive to *Onondago*; he knew for certain that he should go thither; that it was visible *God* was with the *Indians*, in the wilderness; because they always cast their care upon him; but that, contrary to this, the Europeans always carried bread with them.” He was an *Onondago Indian*; his name was *Onontagketa*; the next day we travelled in company; and the day following I provided him with a knife, hatchet, flint, and tinder, also shoes and stockings, and sent him before me, to give notice to the council, at *Onondago*, that I was coming; which he truly performed, being got thither three days before us.

“Two years ago I was sent by the Governor to *Shamokin*, on account of the unhappy death of *John Armstrong*, the *Indian trader*, (about 1744). After I had performed my errand, there was a feast prepared; to which the Governor’s messengers were invited: there were about one hundred persons present, to whom, after we had, in great silence, devoured a fat bear, the eldest of the chiefs made a speech, in which he said, “That, by a great misfortune, three of their brethren, the *white men*, had been
killed

killed by an *Indian*; that nevertheless the sun was not set, (meaning there was no war); it had only been somewhat darkened by a small cloud, which was now done away; he that had done evil was like to be punished, and the land to remain in peace: therefore he exhorted his people to *thankfulness to God*; and thereupon he began to sing with an awful solemnity, but without expressing any words; the others accompanied him with their voices: after they had done, the same *Indian*, with great earnestness, or fervour, spoke these words; “*Thanks, thanks, be to thee, thou great Lord of the world, in that thou hast again caused the sun to shine, and hast dispersed the dark cloud; —the Indians are thine.*”

Account of
some religi-
ous Indians
in 1760.

One more instance may be mentioned on this subject, which has come under my own observation and personal knowledge. In the summer of the year 1760, a number of *religious Indians* paid a visit to the *Quakers* in *Philadelphia*, on a religious account. They were mostly of the *Minusing* tribe, and came from a town called *Mahackloosing*, or *Wyalusing*, on, or near the east branch of *Susquahanna* river, in *Pennsylvania*, about two hundred miles north westward from the city. Their chief man, whom the rest of the company styled their minister, was named *Papunehung*, or *Papou-nan*; and their interpreter, *Job Chillaway*, an *Indian*.

On their arrival, they waited on Governor *Hamilton*, to pay him their respects, and to deliver three prisoners, whom they had redeemed; having themselves absolutely refused to join with the other *Indians*, in the savage war, which raged about that time; though their visit was principally on a different account.

They had a public conference with the Governor, in the state-house, on the occasion, in the presence

presence of, many citizens; wherein *Papouan* expressed the design of their visit was principally to the *Quakers*, on a religious account; that they desired to do justice, to love God, and to live in peace; requesting, at the same time, that none of his company should be permitted to have any spirituous liquors, &c. He refused the presents, offered by the Governor, and gave him the reasons; further saying: "I think on God, who made us; I want to be instructed in his worship and service; I am a great lover of peace, and have never been concerned in war affairs; I have a sincere remembrance of the *old friendship* between the *Indians* and your *forefathers*, and shall ever observe it." After mentioning some other things, and expressing himself further on the view, or design, of their visit, on a religious account, he said, "Though what he had mentioned respecting religious affairs might appear trivial to some, who thought different from him, yet he was fixed in his mind respecting them; that their young men agreed with him, and wanted to love God, and to desist from their former bad course of life;" further declaring, "I am glad I have an opportunity of mentioning these several affairs in the presence of such a large auditory of young and old people; the great God observes all that passes in our hearts, and hears all that we say one to another," &c. The notes, &c. on the occasion, were taken from the interpreter by Secretary *Peters*.

He then finished with a solemn act of public thanksgiving and prayer to God, with great devotion and energy, in the *Indian language* (not being able to speak nor understand *English*). The unusualness, force and sound of the *Indian language*, on such an occasion, with the manifest great sincerity, fervour and concern of the speaker, seemed to strike the whole auditory in an uncommon manner, as well as the *Indians* themselves; who,

all the while, behaved with a gravity and deportment becoming the occasion, and appeared to unite heartily with him, in his devotion.

They were kindly treated by the Governor, and remained in town afterwards several days, visiting and conferring with divers of the *Friends*, or *Quakers*, and attending their religious meetings, while they staid; who behaved towards them in a kind, hospitable and friendly manner. They repeatedly expressed their great dislike and abhorrence of war, as arising from a bad spirit, admiring that the *Christians* were such great warriors, rather than lovers and cultivators of peace, &c. They kept themselves entirely from strong liquor, and uniformly observed a sober, orderly and commendable behaviour, often expressing their satisfaction with what they heard from the *Friends*.

From the account, they gave of themselves, they had been of this mind for several years before this time; and, as far as appeared, and was understood by those they visited, principally from an immediate sense of divine goodness, manifested in their minds, without any instrumental means, preaching, or information from other persons; yet, it was but lately, that in a more especial manner they had been thus disposed, and that *Papounan* had been induced to preach among them; in which service he was afterwards joined by two or three other Indians. They appeared very earnest and sincere in promoting true piety; which they represented, according to their apprehension of it, to be the effect of an internal operation of the divine influence on the mind; whereby it became changed from a bad to a good state: this they emphatically expressed by *the heart becoming soft, and filled with good, &c.*

The interpreter gave the following account of *Papunebung's* change, or conversion, viz. “ He was

was formerly a drunken man; but the death of his father bringing sorrow over his mind, he fell into a thoughtful, melancholic state; in which his eyes were turned to behold the earth, and consider the things which are thereon; from seeing the folly and wickedness, which prevailed, his sorrow increased; and it was given him to believe, there was a great power, which had created all these things. Upon which his mind was turned from beholding this lower world, to look towards him, who had created it; and strong desires were raised in his heart after the further knowledge of his *Creator*: nevertheless the *Almighty* was not yet pleased to be found, or known, by him. But his desires increasing, he forsook the town, and went into the woods, in great bitterness of spirit. He was missed by the other *Indians*, who feared some casualty might have happened to him, but after searching for him, he was not found. At the end of five days it pleased God to appear to him, to his comfort; and to give him a sight not only of his own inward state, but also an acquaintance, or knowledge, into the works of nature: so that he apprehended a sense was given him of the virtues and natures of several herbs, roots, plants, trees, with the different relation they had one to another; and he was made sensible that man stood in the nearest relation to God, of any part of the creation. It was at this time that he was more particularly made sensible of his duty to God. He came home rejoicing, and endeavoured to put in practice what he apprehended was required of him," &c.

These *Indians* made a second visit to the *Quakers* in the next following summer, on the same account, and behaved in the same regular and becoming manner as before. They maintained an orderly public worship, in their way, at stated times: at some of which they were visited by several
of

of the Friends. *Papunebung*, their chief preacher, in his discourses, at such times, principally advised and exhorted them to circumspection, and brotherly love, in their conduct; that it might be manifest they retained a true sense of their Creator's goodness and favour continued to them; and in his public prayers and addresses to his Maker, he acknowledged, and returned thanks for, his mercy, in still affording them a sense of his compassion and loving kindness, requesting a continuance and increase thereof; that they might jointly know, in the end, a place of rest, where love would prevail and have the dominion. When they were not dispersed, as in their hunting season, it appeared, they constantly met in this manner, in the morning, before sun-rise, and in the evening, after sun-set.

The purport of more of *Papunebung's* expressions was, "That it was an affair of much sorrow to him, that men should make so bad use of the breath of life, which God had breathed into them; and which ought continually to be improved to his honour, and the mutual benefit of mankind; that it was not well to speak of things, which related to the *Almighty*, only from the root of the tongue; (meaning, in a superficial, or insensible, manner) but, in order that such words should be good, they must proceed from the good principle in the heart; that he had, for many years, felt the good spirit in his heart; but, wanting to try and prove it, in order to come to some certainty, he remained in an unsettled state, till about four years ago, when he received an assurance, that this love was good, and that he needed no further enquiry about it; and being past all doubt, that this was the right way, he had endeavoured to walk steadily therein since that time; this spirit was a spirit of love; and that it was his daily prayer, that it might continually

ally abide with him. That when he felt it prevalent in his heart, he was so directed, as to speak what was right, and prevented from saying any wrong thing; that by reason of men not keeping to this love, which their Maker hath given them, in their hearts, the evil spirit gets possession there, and destroys all that is good in them; and this is the cause why men dislike one another, grow angry with, and endeavour to kill, one another; but when we follow the leadings of the good spirit, it causes our hearts to be tender, to love one another, to look upon all mankind as one, and so to become as one family," &c.

That strict amity between the *Indians* and the first and early *English* settlers of *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*, and their successors, for above seventy years, with the means of fixing and preserving that friendship, have already been occasionally mentioned in the course of the preceding history. It was about the year 1754, when a very different conduct began to exhibit itself, in some of the *Indians*, situated north westward of the settled parts of *Pennsylvania*, very contrary to what before had been the uniform practice of that people, in this province.

Commencement of the Indian war in 1754, &c.

Hostilities commenced; and many of the frontier inhabitants suffered, in consequence of a savage war. The affair was considered as very extraordinary, and caused much speculation in such persons, as were but little acquainted with the nature and management of *Indian* affairs, about that time, in the province; that these people, who had ever shewed themselves kind and steady friends to

Note. Besides *Papunebung* and his company, there were some other sober, religiously disposed *Indians*, who came to *Philadelphia* about this time, from a place about fifty miles above *Wyalusing*; of these *Samuel Curtis*, of the *Nanticoke* tribe, was one. He had formerly been addicted to strong liquor, but was now reformed by means of *Papunebung's* ministry, become a sober man, and after some time, a preacher among his people.

to the *English*, for such a long series of years, as ever since their first arrival in the country, should now become their enemies, and join with the *French* against them: and many, who had been continually flocking into the province, in later years, having from their inexperience and ignorance, too despicable an opinion of that people, and treating them accordingly, were by this conduct foolishly enraged against the whole species indiscriminately; insomuch that, in the latter part of the year 1763, calling to their aid the madness of the wildest enthusiasm, with which, under pretence of religion, certain most furious zealots, among the preachers of a numerous sect, in the province, could inspire their hearers, to cover their barbarity, a number of, not improperly named, *armed demi-savages*, inhabitants of Lancaster county, principally from the townships of *Paxtang* and *Donnegal*, and their neighbourhood, committed the most horrible *massacre*, that ever was heard of in this, or perhaps, any other province, with impunity!* and under the notion of extirpating

* The following extract is taken from an authentic publication, printed at that time in *Philadelphia*, entitled, "*A narrative of the late massacres, in Lancaster county, of a number of Indians, friends of this province,*" &c. viz.

"These *Indians* were the remains of a tribe of the *Six Nations*, settled at *Conestogoe*, and thence called *Conestogoe Indians*. On the first arrival of the *English* in *Pennsylvania*, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them, with presents of *venison*, *corn* and *skins*; and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first Proprietary *William Penn*; which was to last as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run into the rivers.

"This treaty has been since frequently renewed, and the chain brightened, as they express it, from time to time. It has never been violated, on their part, or ours, till now. As their lands, by degrees, were mostly purchased, and the settlement of the *white people* began to surround them, the Proprietor assigned them lands on the manor of *Conestogoe*, which they might not part with; there they have lived many years, in friendship with their *white neighbours*, who loved them for their peaceable, inoffensive behaviour.

"It has always been observed, that *Indians*, settled in the neighbourhood of *white people*, do not increase, but diminish continually. This tribe

extirpating the Heathen from the earth, as Joshua did of old, that these saints might possess the land alone, they murdered the remains of a whole tribe of peaceable, inoffensive, helpless *Indians*, who were *British subjects*, young and old, men, women and children, situated on *Conestogoe manor*, in

Massacre of
the Cone-
stogoe Indi-
ans, &c.

tribe accordingly went on diminishing, till there remained in their town, on the *manor*, but twenty persons, viz. seven men, five women and eight children, boys and girls.

“ Of these *Shebaes* was a very old man, having assisted at the second treaty, held with them by *Mr. Penn*, in 1701; and ever since continued a faithful friend to the *English*; he is said to have been an exceeding good man, considering his education, being naturally of a most kind, benevolent temper.

—“ This little society continued the custom they had begun, when more numerous, of addressing every new *Governor*, and every descendant of the first *Proprietary*, welcoming him to the province, assuring him of their fidelity, and praying a continuance of that favour and protection, which they had hitherto experienced. They had accordingly sent up an address of this kind to our present Governor (*John Penn*, Esquire) on his arrival; but the same was scarce delivered when the unfortunate catastrophe happened, which we are about to relate.

“ On Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1763, fifty-seven men, from some of our frontier townships, who had projected the destruction of this little commonwealth, came all well mounted, and armed with fire-locks, hangers and hatchets, having travelled through the country in the night to *Conestogoe manor*. There they surrounded the small village of *Indian* huts, and just at break of day, broke in upon them all at once. Only three men, two women, and a young boy were found at home; the rest being out among the neighbouring *white people*; some to sell their baskets, brooms and bowls, they manufactured, and others on other occasions. These poor defenceless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed and hatcheted to death! The good *Shebaes*, among the rest, cut to pieces in his bed! All of them were scalped, and otherwise horribly mangled. Then their huts were set on fire, and most of them burnt down.

“ The Magistrates of *Lancaster* sent out to collect the remaining *Indians*, brought them into the town, for their better security against any further attempt; and, it is said, consoled with them, on the misfortune, that had happened, took them by the hand, and promised them protection.

“ They were put into the work-house, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety.

“ These cruel men again assembled themselves; and hearing that the remaining fourteen *Indians* were in the work-house at *Lancaster*, they suddenly appeared before that town on the twenty-seventh of December. Fifty of them armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the work-house, and by violence broke open the door, and entered with the utmost fury in their countenances. When the poor wretches saw they had no protection nigh, nor could possibly escape, and being without the least weapon

in the same county; where they had been placed by the government, in former time; and had ever since continued in strict and inviolable friendship with the *English*; being then far within the settled parts of the province, and entirely innocent, as to the war: of whom mention has already been made, in the preceding history, respecting their last

weapon of defence, they divided their little families, the children clinging to their parents; they fell on their faces, protested their innocence, declared their love to the *English*, and that, in their whole lives, they had never done them injury; and in this posture, they all received the hatchet! Men, women and children, were every one inhumanly murdered in cold blood!

“ The barbarous men, who committed the atrocious fact, in defiance of government, of all laws human and divine, and, to the eternal disgrace of their country and colour, then mounted their horses, huzzaed in triumph, as if they had gained a victory, and rode off unmolested!

“ The bodies of the murdered were then brought out, and exposed in the street, till a hole could be made in the earth, to receive and cover them. But the wickedness cannot be covered, and the guilt will lie on the whole land, till justice is done on the murderers. *The blood of the innocent will cry to heaven for vengeance.*

“ Notwithstanding the proclamations and endeavours of the Governor, on the occasion, &c. [continues the narrative] “ The murderers having given out such threatenings against those that disapproved their proceedings, that the whole country seems to be in terror, and no one durst speak what he knows; even, the letters from thence are unsigned, in which any dislike is expressed of the rioters.

“ But it seems these people (being chiefly Presbyterians) think they have a better justification—nothing less than the *word of God*. With the scriptures in their hands and mouths they can set at nought that express command, “ *Thou shalt do no murder,*” and justify their wickedness by the command given *Joshua*, to destroy the *Heathen*! Horrid perversion of scripture and of religion! to father the worst of crimes on the *God of love and peace*!

“ The faith of this government has been frequently given to those *Indians*, but that did not avail them with *people who despise all government,*” &c.

So far had the infection spread, which caused this action, and so much had fear seized the minds of the people, or perhaps both, that neither the printer nor the writer of this publication, though supposed to be as nearly connected as *Franklin* and *Hall* were at that time, and men of the first character in their way, did not insert either their names, or places of abode, in it!

It was printed while the insurgents were preparing to advance towards *Philadelphia*; or on their way thither: it appeared to have some effect, in preventing the threatened consequences, by exciting an exertion of endeavours, in the citizens, for that purpose; and being a relation of real facts, though writ in a hurry, it was never answered or contradicted.

last compact with *William Penn*, in the year 1701; and in the treaties held with them since by Governor *Keith*, &c.

“ The bloody scene was compleated in the town of *Lancaster* itself; where the remainder of the tribe, which had escaped the first slaughter, taking refuge, declaring their innocence, and crying for mercy and protection, were through the connivance, if not the encouragement, of the *Christian-professing* Magistrates, and other principal persons of that town, all inhumanly butchered, in cold blood, even infants at the breast, by the same party of armed *ruffians*, at mid-day, without opposition, or the least molestation!—to the lasting infamy of the inhabitants of that place, who had power sufficient to prevent it!”

With hands imbrued in innocent blood, and taking courage from their unopposed success and cruelty, the insurgents now greatly increased in number, and proceeded towards *Philadelphia*, with avowed intention to cut off a party of innocent and friendly *Indians* there; consisting of those of *Wyalusing*, before mentioned, and some others; who had thrown themselves under the protection of the government, to the number of about one hundred and forty. By their conduct, they appeared to depend on the secret assistance of a number of their brethren, the same kind of saints, in that city; who, afterwards, by many of them advocating their cause and proceedings, with other strong symptoms, appeared to have been, either, in some manner, privately connected with them, or concerted and directed the whole tragical and bloody insurrection.

This lawless *banditti* advanced, in many hundreds, armed, as far as *Germantown*, within about six miles of the city, threatening death and slaughter to all, who should dare to oppose them; and,

in all probability, they would have effected their bloody purpose, had they not met with such a proper and vigorous opposition from the government, and the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, as they seemed not to expect; which put a stop to their career. But so far was the contagion spread, and so deeply had the spirit of faction infected the minds of many, that the weakness of the government was not able to punish these *murderers*, nor to chastise the insurgents! a sorrowful presage of an approaching change in that happy constitution, which had so long afforded a peaceable asylum to the unjustly oppressed and distressed, by means of the great influx and increase of such kind of people into it, of later years, as experience has abundantly demonstrated a rod of iron is more proper to rule, than such a mild establishment, as is better adapted to promote the prosperity of the virtuous and good, than properly to chastise the most profligate of mankind; more calculated to make men happy, than to punish the wicked and ungovernable, according to their demerits.

But there were many in the province, who very well knew the cause of this revolt of the *Indians*, and of the sorrowful consequences of it; which, it was not in their power, at that time, to prevent. The management of *Indian* affairs was put into new hands; and after the death of *James Logan*,* if not some time before, a very different conduct was too much practised towards that people, from that which formerly had never failed to gain and preserve their friendship and alliance.

The *Quakers*, whom the *Indians* regarded from the beginning, above any other people in the province, were excluded from the Proprietary agency, to which the management of their affairs was chiefly

* *James Logan*, who died in 1751, was the Proprietary's Secretary, and principal Agent, or commissioner, for land affairs, for near forty years.

chiefly committed; though they were, for the above reason, of all persons the most proper to be concerned, or to act, in it.

But there were several causes, which administered to the unhappy rupture; which may be seen, as mentioned in a treatise, published in *London*, in 1759, written in *Pennsylvania*, entitled, “*An enquiry into the causes of the alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, from the British interest,*” &c. And, in the whole, it is certain they had been too much neglected; of which the *French*, then at war with the *English*, made their advantage.

Causes of
the Indian
war, &c. in
1754, &c.

The principal causes of the quarrel and alienation of these *Indians* were asserted to be,

First, The abuses committed in the *Indian trade*; which had been, more or less, of long continuance, and very difficult to be properly regulated, or redressed; though doubtless a great part of them might have been better guarded against, and prevented, than they really were.*

Secondly,

* Governor *Thomas*, in a message to the Assembly of *Pennsylvania*, in 1744, says, “I cannot but be apprehensive that the *Indian trade*, as it is now carried on, will involve us in some fatal quarrel with the *Indians*. Our traders, in defiance of the laws, carry spirituous liquors among them, and take the advantage of their inordinate appetite for it, to cheat them of their *skins*, and their *wampum*, which is their money, and often debauch their wives into the bargain. Is it to be wondered at, then, if, when they recover from their drunken fit, they should take some severe revenges? If I am rightly informed, the like abuses of the traders in *New England*, were the principal causes of the *Indian wars* there; and at length obliged the government to take the trade into their own hands. This is a matter, that well deserves your attention, and perhaps, will soon require your imitation.”

The author of the enquiry into the cause of the alienation of the *Indians*, &c. above mentioned, further observes on this part, “It would be too shocking to describe the conduct, and behaviour of the traders, when among the *Indians*, and endless to enumerate the abuses, the *Indians* had received and borne from them, for a series of years, suffice it to say that several of the tribes were, at last, weary of bearing,” &c.

At a treaty, held with the *Ohio Indians*, at *Carlisle*, in *Pennsylvania*, by Commissioners, appointed by Governor *Hamilton*, in the year 1753, the former say,

“Brother *Onas* (which means *Pen*, the name given by them to the Governors of *Pennsylvania*) your traders now bring scarce any thing but
rum

Secondly, Their being, as they insisted in later years, unjustly deprived, or dispossessed, of part of their lands.*

Thirdly,

rum and *flour*; they bring but little powder and lead, and other valuable goods. The rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities, by regulating the traders. We never understood the trade was to be for *whisky* and *flour*. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the *Indian* country; but that, if the *Indians* will have any, they may go among the inhabitants, and deal with them for it. When these *whisky* traders come, they bring thirty or forty cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink; and get all the skins, that should go to pay the debts, we have contracted for goods, bought of the fair trader; and by these means we not only ruin ourselves, but them too. These wicked *whisky* sellers, when they have once got the *Indians* in liquor, make them sell their very clothes from their backs. In short, if this practice be continued we must be inevitably ruined: we most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it."

In the report of these Commissioners to the Governor, on their return from the treaty, they conclude as follows, *viz.*

" Thus, may it please the Governor, we have given a full and just account of our proceedings, and we hope our conduct will meet with his approbation. But, in justice to these *Indians*, and the promises we made them, we cannot close our report without taking notice, that the quantities of strong liquors, sold to these *Indians*, in the places of their residence, and during their hunting season, from all parts of the counties, over *Susquabanna*, have increased, of late, to an inconceivable degree, so as to keep those poor *Indians* continually under the force of liquors, that they are thereby become dissolute, enfeebled and indolent, when sober, and untractable and mischievous in their liquor, always quarrelling, and often murdering one another: that the traders are under no bonds, nor give any security for their observance of the laws, and their good behaviour; and by their own intemperance, unfair dealing and irregularities, will, it is to be feared, entirely estrange the affections of the *Indians* from the *English*, deprive them of their natural strength and activity, and oblige them either to abandon their country or submit to any terms, be they ever so unreasonable, from the *French*. These truths, may it please the Governor, are of so interesting a nature, that we shall stand excused in recommending, in the most earnest manner, the deplorable state of these *Indians*, and the heavy discouragements, under which our commerce with them, at present, labours, to the Governor's most serious consideration, that some good and speedy remedies may be provided, before it be too late.

" RICHARD PETERS,

" ISAAC NORRIS,

" November 1, 1753."

" BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

The General Assembly of the province, in February, 1754, in a message to the Governor, lament the state of the *Indian* trade, in terms similar to this report, and took some measures to remedy it, &c.

See votes, &c. Vol. 4, page 287.

* As the Proprietary by patent, was absolute Proprietor, so by a law of the province, all other persons were precluded from purchasing lands of the *Indians*, within its limits, &c.

Thirdly, The death of *Weekweely*, or *Wekabelab*, the *Delaware* chief, who was hanged in *New Jersey*, many years ago, which they could not forget, and say, it was only for accidentally killing a man.*

Fourthly,

In the minutes of conference, held with the *Indians* by Governor *Denny*, &c. at *Easton* in *Pennsylvania*, in November, 1756, upon the Governor's requesting of the *Indians*, to know the cause of their uneasiness, and hostile conduct, *Teedyuscung*, king, or chief, of the *Delawares*, and who there represented four nations, mentioned several; among which were the instigations of the *French*; and the ill usage, or grievances, they had suffered both in *Pennsylvania* and *New Jersey*. When the Governor desired to be informed what these grievances were, *Teedyuscung* replied, "I have not far to go for an instance; this very ground, that is under me, (striking it with his foot) was my land and inheritance; and is taken from me by fraud: when I say this ground, I mean all the land, lying between *Tobacco* creek and *Wioming*, on the river *Susquahanna*. I have not only been served so in this government, but the same thing has been done to me, as to several tracts in *New Jersey*, over the river." The Governor asked him, what he meant by fraud? *Teedyuscung* answered, "When one man had formerly liberty to purchase lands, and he took the deed from the *Indians* for it, and then dies; after his death his children forge a deed like the true one, with the same *Indian* names to it; and thereby take lands from the *Indians* which they never sold; this is fraud: also, when one king has land beyond the river, and another king has land on this side, both bounded by rivers, mountains and springs, which cannot be moved; and the *Proprietaries*, greedy to purchase lands, buy of one king what belongs to another; this likewise is fraud."

Then the Governor asked *Teedyuscung*, whether he had been served so? He answered, "Yes; I have been served so in this province; all the land extending from *Tobacco*, over the great mountain, to *Wioming*, has been taken from me by fraud; for when I had agreed to sell land to the old *Proprietary*, by the course of the river, the young *Proprietaries* came, and got it run by a strait course, by the compass, and by that means, took in double the quantity, intended to be sold," &c.

* *S. Smith*, in his history of *New Jersey*, gives the following very different account of this affair, viz.

"The fact was, this *Weekquebela* was an *Indian* of great note and account, both among the *Christians* and *Indians*, of the tribe that resided about *South River*, (near *Shrewsbury* in *East Jersey*), where he lived with a taste much above the common rank of *Indians*, having an extensive farm, cattle, horses, negroes, and raised large crops of wheat; and was so far *English*, in his furniture, as to have a house well provided with feather beds, calico curtains, &c. He frequently dined with governors, and great men, and behaved well, &c. but his neighbour, captain *John Leonard*, having purchased a cedar swamp of other *Indians*, to which he laid claim, and Leonard refusing to take it on his right, he resented it highly, and threatened that he would shoot him; which he accordingly took an opportunity of doing, in the spring, 1728, while *Leonard* was, in the day time, walking in his garden, or near his own house, at *South River*

Fourthly, The imprisonment of some *Shawanese* warriors, in *Carolina*, in time of peace; where the chief man of the party died.

Fifthly,

River aforesaid; for which he had a legal trial, and was executed for actual murder."

But the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, at a meeting in *Lancaster*, with Governor *Denny*, &c. May 29th, 1757, say thus,

" Brothers, some years ago, in the *Jerseys*, one of the head men of the *Delawares* had been out a hunting. On his return, he called to see a gentleman, a great friend of his, one of your people; whom he found in the field; when the gentleman saw him, he came to meet him. It was rainy weather, and the *Delaware* chief had his gun under his arm; they met at a fence, and as they reached out their hands to each other, the *Delaware's* gun went off, by accident, and shot him dead. He was very much grieved, went to the house, and told the gentleman's wife what had happened; and said, he was willing to die, and did not chuse to live after his friend. She immediately sent for a number of the inhabitants: when they were gathered, some said, it was an accident, and could not be helped; but the greatest number were for hanging him; and he was taken by the Sheriff, and carried to *Amboy*, where he was tried and hanged.

" There was another misfortune that happened: A party of *Shawanese*, who were going to war against their enemies, in their way through *Carolina*, called at a house, not suspecting any harm, as they were among their friends: a number of the inhabitants rose, and took them prisoners, on account of some mischief which was done there about that time; suspecting them to be the people who had done the mischief; and carried them to *Charlestown*, and put them in prison, where the chief man, called *The Pride*, died. The relations of these people were much exasperated against you, our brothers, the *English*, on account of the ill treatment you gave their friends; and have been continually spiring up their nations to take revenge.

" Brothers, you desired us to open our hearts, and inform you of every thing we know, that might give rise to the quarrel between you and our nephews and brothers:—That, in former times, our forefathers conquered the *Delawares*, and put petticoats on them; a long time after that, they lived among you, our brothers; but, upon some difference between you and them, we thought proper to remove them, giving them lands to plant and hunt on, at *Wioming* and *Juniata*, on *Susquabanna*; but you, covetous of land, made plantations there, and spoiled their hunting grounds; they then complained to us, and we looked over those lands, and found their complaints to be true.

" At this time they carried on a correspondence with the *French*; by which means the *French* became acquainted with all the causes of complaint they had against you; and as your people were daily increasing their settlements, by these means you drove them back into the arms of the *French*; and they took the advantage of spiring them up against you, by telling them, " *Children*, you see, and we have often told you, how the *English*, your brothers, would serve you; they plant all the country, and drive you back; so that, in a little time, you will have no land: it is not so with us; though we build trading houses on your land, we do not plant it; we have our provisions from over the great water."

" We

Fifthly, The instigations of the *French*; who made an artful use of their complaints, or discontents, &c. to incite them against the *English* in the late war, &c.

These were the chief causes, though there were others, alledged both by the *Delawares*, the *Shaw-aneſe*, and the *Six Nations*, in the divers treaties, held with them, by the government of *Pennſylvania*, in different parts of the province, between the years 1755 and 1763: wherein, as they are printed, may be ſeen, *in part*, as well as in the definitive treaty of Colonel Bradstreet with them, near lake Erie, in 1764, how a reconciliation was effected: I ſay, *in part*; for the *Quakers*, who, as before obſerved, had the leaſt ſhare in theſe public tranſactions, as to appearance, being, contrary to ancient cuſtom, excluded from the Proprietary agency, by which all treaties and public tranſactions with them, in the province, were directed and managed, more eſpecially reſpecting land affairs; which appeared to be the principal cauſe of the quarrel, were nevertheless, in fact, the prime movers of the peace, and the firſt and chief promoters of redreſſing the *Indians*' wrongs, or complaints, ſo far as in them lay, in their reſtricted capacity: they formed a ſociety among themſelves, particularly for that good purpoſe, called *The friendly association, for gaining and preſerving peace with the Indians, by pacific meaſures*;* conſtituted truſtees, and had a treaſurer; and by a voluntary contribution among themſelves, of
many

Cauſes and means of the peace in 1763 and 1764.

“ We have opened our hearts, and told you what complaints we have heard, that they had againſt you; and our advice to you is, that you ſend for the *Senecas* and *them*; treat them kindly, and rather give them ſome part of their fields back again, than differ with them. It is in your power to ſettle all the differences with them, if you pleaſe.”

Minutes of Indian Treaties.

* See their printed addreſs to Governor Denny, &c. in 1757, in the Appendix, No 7.

many thousand pounds, to which divers well disposed persons, among the more religious *Germans*, liberally contributed (an expence, which ought to have been, either from a different quarter, or, at least, of a more general, and public nature) which, with the Governor's consent, or approbation, first had, they applied in such prudent manner, by presents, and redressing their grievances, together with their way of *friendly behaviour and sincerity*, which the *Indians* had long experienced, they disposed them to hearken to terms of peace and reconciliation, made way for the succeeding treaties, with their recovery and return from the *French* interest, &c. which afterwards ensued; as, in part, appears in the afore said *treatise*, or *enquiry*, &c. as well as in the printed *Indian treaties*; and in the *journals* of *Christian Frederick Post*; which last, as they are somewhat curious and informing in the nature of *Indian* affairs, are, therefore, inserted in the appendix.†

For, to pretend to conquer those savages, when united in opposition, by a regular army, in the woods, without something of this nature, would be as absurd as the attempt of the *giants*, in the fable, to effect, by *mere strength*, what would more properly and only be attainable by the means of *wisdom* and *good policy*; according to the speech of the *Scythian* Ambassador to *Alexander the Great*; and the truth of the *Roman* adage, "*parum fit bellum foris, nisi sit consilium domi*,"‡ in its fullest extent, is no less applicable, in dealing with this people, than it was formerly experienced to be, by the greatest conquerors and rulers of the world, in their management of other nations.

PART

† See Appendix, No. 8 and 9.

‡ I. E. "War abroad is to little purpose, unless prudent measures are taken at home." *Cicero*.

PART IV.

Religious state of Pennsylvania.—Variety and harmony of the religious sects in the province.—Their proportion in Philadelphia.—Mennonists,—Dunkards,—Swenckfelders,—Moravians.—Conclusion.—Thomas Makin's account of Pennsylvania, in a Latin Poem, in 1729, addressed to J. Logan.

IT has already been observed that the civil constitution of *Pennsylvania* was originally founded on such a generous plan of liberty, that the freedom allowed by it, of *thinking on religious subjects*, and of *worshipping the Almighty*, according to the best of men's understandings, without being deprived either of their natural rights, as men, or of their civil liberties, as subjects of government, on that account, has not a little contributed to the great and rapid increase and prosperity of the province, above any other of the *British* colonies in *America*; and, in proportion to its age, and other circumstances, rendered it far superior, in real worth and importance; so, in giving an account of its general state, after the conclusion of the war, in 1761, some representation, at least, of the various religious societies, or sects, of which its inhabitants mostly consist, becomes proper and necessary.

Religious liberty one cause of Pennsylvania's improvement, &c.

There is a greater number of different religious societies in this province, than, perhaps, in any other, throughout the *British* dominions besides; and in regard to disputes, on religious subjects, and the consequences of an universal toleration of all the varieties of opinion, in religion, though so widely different, and so contrary and opposite to

Numerous sects in Pennsylvania.

Names of
divers of
them.

one another, elsewhere much dreaded, it is apprehended there is not more real harmony any where known, in this respect, even, under the most despotic *hierarchies*, than in *Pennsylvania*. Here are the *Quakers*, who were principally the first settlers, and, in effect, the makers of the province; and who, in general, are already described, in the *Introduction* :* The *Episcopalians*, according to the manner of the Church of *England*; and the *German* and *Swedish Lutherans*: The *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, of various kinds, or sects; and the *German Calvinists*: The *Church of Rome* and the *Jews*: The *Baptists* of different kinds; with those among the *Germans*, called *Mennonists*, and *Dunkards*, or *Dumplers*; the *Moravians* and *Swenckfelders*; besides the *Aborigines of America*, &c.

Their har-
mony and
concord one
with ano-
ther.

All these, for a considerable series of years, have, in general, from the example of the *Quakers*, who were providentially the cause of that liberty, which they all there enjoy, and who appear never to have persecuted any other people, for religion, maintained such harmony and concord among themselves, as approaches nearer to that *universal love* and *charity*, which *Christianity* teaches, and which its votaries, in general, profess, at least, in theory, than has ever been known to arise from any contrary conduct, or intolerant authority, so predominant in many other countries.

For, notwithstanding their seeming so extremely to differ one from another, in religious sentiments and customs; and that some of their opinions and practices doubtless are very absurd, and probably more or less so under every profession, or form;
in

* The number of religious visits from the preachers of this society, in *Great Britain*, and other places in *Europe*, but chiefly from *England*, in the service of the gospel, to this country, and their society in *America*, between the years 1661, and 1771, as appears by their own records, was about 132; exclusive of those, who, from *Europe* had settled in *America*, and travelled in that service; who were many, &c.

in which an absolute uniformity is not to be expected, in the human race; neither is it more reasonable to be so, than that men should all be of one and the same size, age, understanding and capacity; yet by the constitution of the civil government, as they are not here permitted to oppress one another, on that account, so, in general, among the more thinking and intelligent, in every sect, or society, a firm persuasion seems to prevail, that they all have one and the same thing, *happiness*, in view; and that their difference arises from opinion and custom only, respecting the mode of obtaining it; which notion has such a tendency to moderate and temper their way of thinking on religious matters, as, in great measure to occasion that *forbearance* and *charity*, which appears in their conduct to each other; a surer characteristic of true *Christianity*, and *best Philosophy*, than the practice of many, who make great profession of superior attainments of science and knowledge, and who shew much greater zeal for what they esteem to be truth, and place more stress on opinion, creeds, or beliefs, than in practice and charity, than is to be found in *Pennsylvania*.

Uniformity
of mind,
like that of
the body,
not to be
expected,
&c.

The *Quakers*, in the city of *Philadelphia*, compose, probably, about one-seventh part of its inhabitants. The rest of that society at present have their residence principally in the first, or older counties of *Philadelphia*, *Bucks*, *Chester*, *Newcastle*, &c. and in the year 1770, they had between sixty and seventy meeting houses, for divine worship, in the province, and lower counties on *Delaware*. But of late they have been much exceeded in number by other societies, complexly taken, though they generally are esteemed among the wealthiest, and most substantial of the inhabitants.

Of the
Quakers,
&c.

The *Church of England* has several places of worship in the city, as before mentioned, in the
description

Of the different religious societies, &c.

description of it and its public edifices ; (page 279) and also in divers other parts of the province ; and the *German Lutherans* have large congregations in *Philadelphia*, *Lancaster*, &c. but the *Presbyterians* and *Independants* are supposed, by far, to be more numerous than any other particular religious society, taking in the *Dutch*, or *German Calvinists* ; several of the back counties being principally peopled by them ; they have flowed in, of late years, from the north of *Ireland*, in very large numbers, besides their great internal increase and still greater industry, than that of many others, to make profelytes.*

The *Roman Catholics* have a chapel in *Philadelphia*, and another at *Lancaster* ; a number among the *Germans* are also of that community. The *Jews* are but few, and those chiefly in the city. The *English Baptists* are not very numerous in *Pennsylvania* ; they have a meeting house in the city,

* The proportion, which the number of each religious society, in *Philadelphia*, bears to each other, may, in some manner, appear from the number of burials, in each of them annually, taken from the printed bills of mortality, for the following ten years successively, viz.

Years,	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773	1774
<i>Church of Eng.</i>	217	107	118	126	211	160	156	181	216	191
<i>Swedish Luth.</i>	35	28	26	14	40	24	10	26	16	26
<i>Presbyterians,</i>	123	108	93	83	125	105	115	111	176	126
<i>Quakers,</i>	177	100	107	89	151	102	93	144	158	150
<i>Baptists,</i>	25	30	24	27	20	19	12	15	20	14
<i>German Luth.</i>	158	145	131	108	212	126	123	218	225	153
<i>German Calvin,</i>	53	76	35	38	81	98	35	71	82	58
<i>Roman Catholics</i>	51	32	35	26	52	31	39	47	53	39
<i>Strangers,</i>	295	220	160	210	181	244	320	340	360	208
<i>Negroes,</i>	139	96	109	80	87	62	104	120	96	47
<i>Total,</i>	1273	943	838	801	1160	971	1007	1273	1402	1012

Note. In the year 1759, according to the said bills of mortality, printed annually, were 1406 funerals in *Philadelphia*, of which those in *Christ Church* parish only were 272 ; of whom 106 died of the small pox (three only inoculated) of the *Quakers* 171 ; of other societies 490 ; of strangers 326 ; of *Negroes* 147 ; in all 1406. Increase of funerals that year 648.

Which great mortality that year, as well as in some other years, appears to have arisen principally from the small pox, before inoculation had taken much place, and was so well understood as since ; which distemper, that year, in proportion to those who died of it in *Christ Church* parish, must have carried off, in the whole, between 5 and 600, &c.

city, and some others in different parts of the country: they appear, in general, especially of late years, to differ very little, both in principle and practice, from the *Presbyterians*, save in those of *baptism* only.*

It has already been mentioned that some *Ger-*
mans very early settled in *Pennsylvania*; but that afterwards they flocked into it, in much greater numbers; infomuch that, of late years, it is supposed near one-third part of the inhabitants of the province consisted of these people, and of their descendants. They have mostly been of the lower rank, but very industrious, useful, and well adapted for the improvement of a wilderness, under proper government and restriction.

Great number of Germans, &c.

There are several different professions of religion among them, in the province; some of which appear more remarkable than others, for a simplicity of manners, and less known to many; of such, therefore, I shall more particularly give such brief account, as partly I find of them, and partly according to my own observation: first,

Of the Mennonists.

THE *Mennonists* of *Pennsylvania* take their name from *Menno Simon*, of the *Netherlands*, one of the leaders of that society or sect of the *Baptists*, in the sixteenth century; who took their rise in Germany soon after, or about, the time of the reformation. But, it is said, they themselves derive the origin of their religious profession and practice

Of the Mennonists

* *Morgan Edwards*, in his printed account of the *Baptists* of *Pennsylvania*, in 1770, divides them into *British* and *German*; of the former he makes about 650 families, and 3252 persons, at five to a family (supposing every family to be totally composed of Baptists) who have 18 meeting houses: the *Germans* he divides into *Dunkards* and *Mennonists*; which see under their proper heads.

Note. He makes their whole number, both *Germans* and *British*, amount to 9525, &c.

Note. Those called *Seventh Day Baptists*, are almost extinct, &c.

practice from that of the *Christian Church*, in *Theſſalonia*, in the time of the *Apoſtles*, &c.

Among the articles of their faith, in which they appear to be very rigid, uſing great plainneſs in ſpeech and dreſs, are, in ſubſtance, the following, *viz.*

Some arti-
cles of their
faith.

1. *Of God*. They confeſs one only God, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt.

2. *Of Baptiſm*. They confeſs *baptiſm* into faith; but no *infant baptiſm*.

3. They confeſs an *eucharift*, to be kept with common bread and wine, in remembrance of the ſufferings and death of *Chriſt*.

4. *Of Marriage*. They confeſs a *wedlock*, of two believing perſons; and *no external marriage ceremony*, by puniſhment of excommunication, &c.

5. *Of taking Oaths*. They confeſs that no *Chriſtian* may take an *oath*; or, in his evidence go beyond *yea* and *nay*, though he have the truth on his ſide; but muſt rather chuſe to die.

6. *Of bearing Arms*. No *Chriſtian* muſt, in any wiſe, withſtand with arms, or take the ſword, &c.

In their
claim to an-
tiquity, they
have ſuffer-
ed much
perſecution,
&c.

They ſay their church has always from the beginning (though under almoſt continual oppreſſion and perſecution) inſiſted on the above confeſſion, with many other articles, even, from the time of the *Apoſtles*; from which the violence of perſecution and death, which at different times they endured, never could compel them to depart; inſtancing the ten perſecutions, till 310 years after *Chriſt*; and afterwards till the year 1210, &c. when great numbers of them ſuffered death, chiefly in *Europe*, for not admitting *infant baptiſm*; but only a *baptiſm* into their faith, in their own mode, and likewise for refuſing to take an *oath* and *bear arms*; and for adhering to other articles of their

their faith; for which they suffered such heavy persecutions, that they were reduced to a small number, till the time of the *reformation*, when, from the year 1520 to 1530, they began to flourish again, to the no small mortification of the *Romish clergy*; who gave them the name of *Anabaptists*; and used their endeavours, first, by persuasion, to draw them over, and then by a terrible persecution, throughout all the emperor's dominions, by banishments, prisons, torture, and death, in various modes; all which they encountered, and suffered with inflexible fortitude, rather than depart from their tenets. That this persecution began in 1524, and continued about one hundred years. Of which they give many cruel instances, particularly in *Austria*, at *Hem-born*, and in the *Palatinate* about *Alsom*; where, in the year 1529, several hundreds of them were, in a short time, by the count *Palatine*, executed by *fire* and *sword*. And after this they suffered in *Switzerland*; particularly at *Inrich* and *Bern*; where several of their teachers were beheaded; of whom one *Haslebacker* is mentioned thus to have suffered at the latter place; and many of them are said to have been starved to death by hunger.

They are
persecuted
in Germany

Mennonists
persecuted
in Switzer-
land, &c.

Though these *Mennonists* of *Pennsylvania* appear to be a species or sect, of those who went under the general name of *Baptists*, or *Anabaptists* formerly in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, yet, in both their writings and practice, they seem highly to disapprove or reprobate and condemn, the wild actions and extravagances, done at *Munster*, &c. by these people in 1533, in opposition to the magistracy and government; in consequence of which many thousands of persons lost their lives, in different parts of *Germany*.

They dis-
claim the
conduct at
Munster,
&c.

They moreover say, that in the seventeenth century, they suffered severe persecution in *Switzerland*,
and

They suffer
again in
Switzer-
land, &c.

and some other places ; and that in the year 1670, some of their society were chained together, and sent to the gallies, on account of their religion ; others shipped and banished their country, being branded with the mark of a *bear* (the arms of the *canton*) : that, in the year 1710, a barge, full of these prisoners, was carried down the *Rhine*, to be transported beyond the sea ; but when they came to *Holland*, the government of that republic declared, they would have no such prisoners in their country ; and they set them all at liberty.

They ob-
tain a tem-
porary re-
lief, &c.

Many of these people, who were dispersed in divers parts of the *German* provinces, especially in the *Palatinate*, and places adjacent, having met together, entered into conditions, and, by paying a great tribute, they obtained an exemption from *taking oaths*, from *bearing arms*, and from having their *children baptised* ; and gained the liberty of upholding *public worship*, in their own way : but notwithstanding this, they were grossly imposed upon and abused, for the exercise of their consciences ; being, in time of war, obliged to have their houses filled with wicked crews of soldiers, and to endure many other grievances and distresses. These things caused their looking out for another country ; and, in time, a way was opened for their removal to *Pennsylvania*.

William
Penn in-
forms them
of Pennsylv-
ania, &c.

William Penn, both in person and writing, published in *Germany*, first gave them information that there was liberty of conscience in *Pennsylvania* ; and that every one might live there without molestation. Some of them about the year 1698, others in 1706, 1709 and 1711, partly for conscience sake, and partly for their temporal interest, removed thither ; where they say, they found their expectation fully answered, enjoying liberty of conscience, according to their desire, with the benefits of a plentiful country. With this they ac-
quainted

quainted their friends in *Germany*; in consequence of which many of them, in the year 1717, &c. removed to *Pennsylvania*.

The *Mennonists* are settled chiefly near *Lancaster*, and in some parts of the neighbouring counties. They are a sober, industrious people, of good economy, sound morals, and very useful members of the general community; and are supposed to consist of several thousand persons, within the province.* Their articles of faith, respecting oaths and war, are founded on the same principles, as those of the *Quakers*, in these points, viz. the plain and absolute prohibition thereof, as understood by them, in the *New Testament*.

Their present residence and general character.

Of the Dunkards, or Dumplers.

THOSE people, in *Pennsylvania*, called *Dunkards*, *Tunkers*, or *Dumplers*, are another species of *German Baptists*. They are singular in some of their opinions and customs; and perhaps more so in their manner of living, and personal appearance, than any others of that name in the province, particularly those who reside at a place, called by them, *Ephrata*, in *Lancaster* county.

Dunkards more singular, &c.

They also hold it not becoming a follower of *Jesus Christ* to bear arms, or fight; because, say they, their true master has forbid his disciples to resist evil; and because he also told them, not to swear at all, they will by no means take an oath; but adhere close to his advice, in the affirmation of *yea* and *nay*.

Their opinion on fighting and swearing.

As

* Morgan Edwards, in his account before mentioned, ranks the *Mennonists* among the *Baptists* of *Pennsylvania*: he says, they have there 42 meeting houses, and consist of 4050 persons; that they derive their name from that of *Menno Simon*, a native of *Witmars*, born in 1505; that they have, in this province, and some other places, deviated from the practice of *Menno*, in the mode of their baptism, by declining that of dipping, &c.

Of the origin of the Dunkards,

As to their origin, they allow of no other, than that, which was made by *Jesus* himself, when he was baptised by *John* in *Jordan*. They have a great esteem for the *New Testament*, valuing it higher than the other books; and when they are asked about the articles of their faith, they say, they know of no others but what are contained in this book; and therefore can give none.

and of their present society, &c.

The rise, or collection of their present society they seem to date about the year 1705; many of them were educated among the *German Calvinists*, but left them, and, on account of their religious way of thinking and practice, several being banished from their homes, and otherwise persecuted, they resorted to *Swarzenan*, in the county of *Witgensteen* and *Creyfield*, in the dutchy of *Cleves*, belonging to the king of *Prussia*; where they had liberty of meeting, without being disturbed. To these places they collected from several parts; as from *Switzerland*, *Strasburg*, the *Palatinate*, *Silesia*, &c,

They assume their present form, &c.

They agreed on their exterior form of religion at *Swarzenan* afore said; the manner of their baptism of immersion, or plunging into water (from whence the name *Dumpler*, in their language) instead of the vulgar method of sprinkling, was established among them; as being not only more consistent with that, which *Christ* himself suffered from *John* the Baptist, but also more agreeable to the practice of many of the primitive *Christians*.

Manner of their holding the eucharist, &c.

They hold what is called the *Eucharist*, in commemoration of the sufferings of *Christ*, at night, as, they say, *Christ* himself kept it; washing, at the same time one another's feet, agreeable to his example and command. They meet together to worship on the first day of the week, in confidence of his promise, who said, "*Where two or three are gathered together, in my name, there am I*
in

in the midst of them :” but those at *Ephrata* keep the seventh day of the week, for *sabbath* : they profess a *spiritual worship* ; and they have been remarkable, at the place last mentioned, for their fine singing at their devotion. They say, they have suffered great persecution in *Europe* ; of which they give particular accounts ; and as appears in a manuscript, from which part of this account of them is taken. They have suffered persecution, &c.

They removed from the places before mentioned into *Pennsylvania*, chiefly between the years 1718 and 1734 ; a few of them still remaining at *Creyfield* in *Friezland*. When they removed to Pennsylvania,

They are a quiet, inoffensive people, not numerous,* and seemingly, at present, on the decline, especially at *Ephrata* before mentioned ; where they have a kind of a *monastery*, about fifteen miles distant from *Lancaster*, and sixty miles west north west from *Philadelphia*. Their character, residence, &c.

Here more particularly they dress in a kind of uniform, consisting of a triangular, or round, white, and sometimes grey cloth, or linen cap, on the head, a little similar to a bonnet ; with a loose garment of the same stuff and colour, hanging over them ; in imitation of the fashion of the eastern *Christians* formerly. They wear their beards, and have a solemn steady pace, when they walk, keeping right forward with their eyes fixed on the ground, and do not usually turn to give an answer, when asked a question. Their burying place here they call *the Valley of Anchor* ; and here it has been their custom to live on a common stock, composed of the fruits of all their labours, and the gifts of such as join them. They eat no flesh, drink no wine, use no tobacco, nor sleep on beds, Their dress and manner of living, &c. at Ephrata,
in

* *Morgan Edwards* aforesaid, ranks these people also among the *Baptists* of *Pennsylvania* ; and makes them consist of 419 families, 2095 persons, at 5 to a family ; and 4 meeting houses, in different parts of the province.

in this place, as other people do ; and the men and women live in different apartments, or, in separate large houses, containing many distinct apartments ; and it has been their practice, for those of each house, to meet every two hours, both day and night, to join in prayer ; but, it is said, they have lately abated of this rigour.

Their whole method in this place seems to be a kind of *monastic life*, much according to its original simplicity ; and if any of them *marry*, after they come hither, such are not permitted to live longer here, but still remain members of the society ; and, in general, another of their customs is, to receive no interest for money lent, on pain of excommunication, &c.

Of the Swenckfelders.

Swenckfelders.

Vid. God-fried Arnold's hist. of the church.

THE people, who bear the name of *Swenckfelders*, in *Pennsylvania*, are so called from *Caspar Swenckfeld*, of *Ossing* ; who, at the time of the reformation, in the sixteenth century, was a teacher of note. He was born in *Silesia*, and of noble birth. The sect, which he gathered, was from the beginning tolerated, under several of the *German* emperors, in their *arch-dukedom* of *Silesia*, especially the principalities of *Taur* and *Lignitz*, for about two hundred years successively, and in several other places, though not without envy of the *Romish clergy*, who instigated some of the inferior Magistrates so much to distress them about the years 1590 and 1650, as to cause what they thought a pretty severe persecution. After this they enjoyed peace till the reign of the emperor *Charles the Sixth*. But about the year 1725, through the instigation of the clergy, they were again molested ; wherefore, despairing of obtaining the continuation of their former tranquillity, in that country, for which they had endeavoured in vain, most of them,

them, after frequent citations, appearing before the clergy, arrests and imprisonments, heavy fines and penalties, threats and menaces, taking away their children to catechise, and instruct them in the *Roman Catholic* doctrine, constituting *Roman Catholic* executors, for the widows, and guardians for orphans, and many other hard proceedings, which they endured, found themselves obliged to leave their real estates and habitations behind them, and emigrate to some other country.

Much harassed and persecuted in Germany

They found a place of shelter in *Upper Lusatia*, in *Saxony*, under the Senate of *Gorlitz*: as also unexpectedly under *Count Zinzendorf*, which they enjoyed about eight years; after which this toleration was discontinued.

They then enquired for another place of safety, under some of the Protestant princes of *Germany*, but upon considering the great uncertainty of the long continuance of any toleration there, and having got intelligence of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and of the privileges there enjoyed, &c. they resolved to remove thither. Some of them came over in the year 1733, but the greatest part in 1734, and some families afterwards.*

In

* The following translation of an *Edict* of the king of *Prussia*, to recall these people into his dominions, indicates the importance and utility they were thought to be of to his country, viz.

“ E D I C T,

“ Concerning the re-establishment and collocation of the so-called *Schwenckfeldians*, in *Silesia*, and other provinces of his royal majesty.

“ *De dato* Seelowitz, the 8th day of *March*, 1742.

“ *We*, *Frederick*, by the grace of God, king of *Prussia*, marckgrave of *Brandenburg*, arch-chamberlain and elector of the holy *Roman* empire, &c.

“ Be it known to all to whom these presents may come: *whereas* we do hold nothing to be more contrary to the nature and reason, and the principles of the *Christian* religion, than the forcing of the subjects' consciences, and to persecute them, about any other dissenting doctrines, which do not concern the fundamental principles of the *Christian* religion; so we have most graciously resolved. the so-called *Schwenckfeldians*, who were

Their opi-
nion on
oaths and
war, &c.

In regard to *oaths and war*, they agree with the *Mennonists*, and give the same reasons, as they and the *Quakers*, in these respects: they say, they have been much misrepresented, and charged with neglecting the use of the *sacred scriptures*, and those religious ceremonies, called *sacraments*. The first of which charges they deny, as entirely untrue; their disuse of the second, they say, hath not, nor doth happen from contempt, but merely from conscientious motives. They, and their founder, *Schwenckfeldius*, are charged with fundry other things, which, they say, will appear entirely untrue to any, who will be at the trouble of searching the theological works, left by him.

Residence
and charac-
ter.

These people are not numerous in the province, they are settled chiefly in the county of *Berks*, and are an industrious, frugal people, of exemplary morals, and a general good character.

Of

were exiled, out of an imprudent zeal of religion, to the irreparable damage of the commerce and country, again to recall them, into our sovereign *dutchy* of *Nether Silesia*. We have, therefore, thought fit to assure all those, by these presents, who confess themselves to be of the said doctrine, upon our royal word, that they shall and may safely return, not only into our sovereign *dutchy* of *Nether Silesia*, but also into all our provinces, peaceably to live and trade there; since we do not only receive them into our special protection, but also will give them all necessary supply, for the promoting of their commerce; and to all them, who, several years ago, were deprived of their habitations and effects, in our country of *Silesia*, in case they are not paid for by the new possessors, they shall be restored without any reward. Such as will settle in our villages shall have farms assigned them, and care be taken to meet with good employment; and they that will fix their abode in towns, shall, besides several ordinary free years, have places assigned them gratis, to the building of their houses: for which purpose they only need to apply to our military and domainen chambers. We do, therefore, command our superior colleges of justice and finance, as also all mediate primes, lords, magistrates, &c. carefully to observe the same. In witness whereof, we have signed this present *Edict*, with our hand, and caused our royal seal to be affixed.

“ FREDERICK OF CONEY,

“ Count of Munchan,

(L. S.)

“ Done at Seelowitz,

March 8th, 1742.”

Of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, commonly called Moravians.

IT is said, the first emigration of the *Moravians*, from *Moravia*, a country adjacent to *Bohemia*, from which they were named, was with a view of going to *Pennsylvania*, for the sake of an uninterrupted enjoyment of civil and religious privileges; but, having found a place of retreat, in *Upper Lusatia*, which they thought would be agreeable to their minds, they, for a time, fixed their residence there.

First design of the Moravians in quitting their country, &c.

After this, in the year 1733, the colony of *Georgia* was talked of in *Holland*; which induced their ordinary, *Count Zinzendorf*, to correspond with the *English* resident, at *Copenhagen*, upon that subject; in consequence of which the Brethren concluded to send some of their people thither; and agreed with the *trustees*, among other things, that *they should be exempted from taking an oath, and bearing arms*. But afterwards, perceiving that this gave umbrage to some persons, from whom they did not expect it, they resolved to pursue their former intention, and to go to *Pennsylvania*, which they accordingly performed, in the years 1739 and 1740; where, applying themselves to agriculture, they have since made considerable settlements, especially on the western branch of *Delaware river*, called *Lehi*, in *Northampton county*, at a place named by them, *Bethlehem*, with the circumjacent villages and farms of *Nazareth*, *Guadenthal*, *Friedenshal*, and elsewhere.

Time of their removing to *Pennsylvania*.

Their settlements about *Bethlehem*, though so lately begun, are superior, in some respects, to any in the province. Here their excellent skill, industry, regular management and economy have been very conspicuous and remarkable. The town itself, is pleasantly situated upon a hill, or elevated

Their settlements about *Bethlehem*, &c.

elevated ground, on the north side of the *Lehi*, with a fine descent to the river. It consists of private houses, improved and ornamented by divers large and spacious buildings, of a more public, or general kind, for the use of the society, which are called *quoir houses*: these are distinctly appropriated for the use of the different parts of their community, at that place; as, for the children, single men, single women, widows, and widowers, &c. separated in these large houses; besides the *congregational inn*, which has been reputed one of the best in *Pennsylvania*, for the entertainment of strangers, &c.

Customs
and economy,
&c.

They are very methodical in their customs, and exhibit great skill and perseverance in what they undertake; aiming in common life, to make themselves agreeable, to avoid singularity, and to approve themselves honest, in the hearts of all people; though in part of their dress, especially the female sex, in these places, they appear to use a particular, plain *uniform*; and their mode of language, or discourse, seems to be somewhat affected, or peculiar to themselves.

Their other
settlements,
&c.

They have, from time to time, received succours from *Europe*, and are now increased to a considerable number. Besides these settlements, they have a meeting house in *Philadelphia*, and another at *Lancaster*, besides their fine settlement at *Litz*, in *Lancaster* county. They have likewise made settlements in the government of *New York* and *New Jersey*, and on the river *Dan*, which runs into the *Roanoake*, in *North Carolina*.

In *Pennsylvania*, at present, the *Moravians*, or *United Brethren*, consist of a mixture of some *English*, and other people, from different countries, besides *Germans* and aborigines of *America*; for they likewise have a number of the *Indians*, in the province, under their care and tuition.

They

They use great variety of *music*, at their devotion; and have strong picturesque representations of *Christ's* passion, &c. in their place of worship, at *Bethlehem*; and, as a remarkable policy seems to run through their whole system, whereby it appears, in some cases, adapted to operate, in the strongest manner, on the human passions; so, in the more civil part of their constitution and transactions, in this province, an admirable order and economy, to more than common perfection, has been very conspicuous.

Remarkable policy in their system, &c.

But their method of educating their children and youth, to answer the end designed, has been more so; and perhaps, exceeded by no other people in the province: an affair of very great importance, in whatever view we take it: the lowest, or most ignorant and uninformed part of the rational creation, perhaps, doth not excel the most knowing and sagacious of the brutal kind, so much as one part of the human species exceeds the other, in superior knowledge, wisdom and felicity, by means of an early and good education, a wise and virtuous institution of youth, in its most extensive acceptation? For, though God has given talents to men, yet it is in their power to improve or debase them, and to apply them to proper or improper objects, by the means which God has given; and how much this depends on education, information and early habit, is sufficiently manifest to such as are enough acquainted with the subject, and with mankind.

Education of their youth.

As to the religious tenets, or creed, of the *Moravians*, they acknowledge the Bible to be their only rule, * “ In the most simple sense, and in every respect; and that so perfectly, that while disputants are solicitous to seek and find, or make, that to be sense there, which they have heard, the Brethren receive all, according to the letter; nay,

Rule of their doctrine, &c.

* Vid. A compendious manual, &c.

all that is written therein is truth to them, even, that part, which is looked upon by others, as contradictory, without being first explained."

Their great
industry,
&c.

Their bishops, teachers, &c. by an established rule, at stated times, every week, wash the feet of all, they call to the *Lord's Supper*; in performing which they are methodical, and use a particular ceremony, &c. But their zeal and industry for propagating the gospel in foreign nations, which never heard it before, has been very remarkable and extraordinary for these latter times, &c.

Of the ori-
gin of their
religion,
&c.

They date their religion, as most religious societies do, from the first establishment of true religion in the world, in general terms. They do not pretend to any warrantable account of their origin; having, as they imagine, the fate of most other institutions; that is, to be lost in uncertainty; but, that their congregation flourished in the 15th century, at *Litz*, i. e. fifty years before the reformation, and was then a *Sclavonian* congregation, which sprung from the old *Bulgarian Christians*; that *George Podebrad*, regent of *Bohemia*, who, as they say, partly from his own motion and love, and partly at the intercession of the arch-bishop of *Prague*, being in the like circumstances with him, established at *Litz*, on the borders of *Bohemia*, a congregation, to serve God in quietness and peace, without being so easy a prey to the *Roman Catholics*; to whom the king and primate of the realm were outwardly gone over. This they did so much the rather, as those Brethren differed from the *Taborites*, in the principle of defending religion by the force of arms; professing prayer, in spiritual things, to be the best weapon of *Christians*, against their enemies.

Foreign
places of
residence,
&c.

They are said originally to have consisted of scattered *Bohemians* and *Moravians*; but the *Waldenses*,

denfes, as they imagine, taking refuge among them, learned their language, and, in a while, became lost in their nation; that, gaining ground, they became a people, considerable enough to be denominated a *national*, or more properly, a *general church*; for it consisted of subjects, under several different princes; that they sought protection, and gained settlements, in *Poland*, *England*, *Prussia*, *Wertemburg*, and *Saxony*; that *Poland*, by degrees, became their chief residence; that, in *England*, the *Walloons*, *Germans*, nay, all foreign Protestants, were disposed by *Edward* the Sixth, under their bishop, *John a Lasco*, as superintendant of all foreign Protestants; that in time, it becoming too tedious to distinguish them by the different names of the countries, to which they belonged, they assumed the general name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or *United Brethren*, comprehending all their different divisions, under that denomination.

By this name they were acknowledged by *Great Britain* in the year 1737 and 1739; and by several other nations and states about the same time. In the latter of which years they received a general toleration, by an act of the *British parliament*, encouraging them to settle in the American plantations, &c. by allowing them to take a *solemn affirmation*, instead of an oath, and dispensing with their not being concerned in *military affairs*, on payment of a rate assessed, &c.

They are
favoured by
the British
parliament,
&c.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

Conclusion
respecting
variety of
religious
opinions,
&c.

AS it is not my intention to say any thing further, respecting the more generally well known forms of the other religious societies, in the province, which, at different times, have resulted from a variety of opinion, on the subject of religion, I shall, therefore, only observe, that, so long as different degrees of light and knowledge are communicated to men, while custom and education vary among them, and while the capacity and opportunity to receive instruction are unequal and various in individuals, according to their different abilities and situations in the world, so long it cannot reasonably be expected that all people should see or think exactly alike, or possess an uniformity of understanding, in objects merely intellectual, more especially such as are only known to exist in opinion, or belief: for as our bodies differ in shape, size and capacity, and vary in their properties and qualities, so is it in respect to the minds of men; which are as various as the flowers of the field; and, when duly considered, have no less real beauty, in their variety: it is as unreasonable to expect, or attempt, an absolute uniformity of the one as of the other; and compulsion, in such case, would be no less tyrannical and absurd, than the use of *Procrustes's* bed; for the nature of all sects, in religion, is to keep up the difference.

But, as wisdom is better than strength, and the cause above the effect, so the power of reason and persuasion alone, on the intelligent and rational mind, is the most adequate and proper to rectify the erroneous, or less informed understanding, in objects entirely of a mental or intellectual nature; in which a difference of thinking may not be inconsistent with reason and truth; for perhaps,

as

as light and knowledge increase and advance among mankind, the greater will be the variety of sentiment? Which, so long as it is free, may have the more effectual tendency to discuss and discriminate truth from error, and that not incompatible with an unity of principle, even, in religious subjects; provided that men, instead of wickedly making religion an engine of power, for one part of the community to oppress the other, would keep within the bounds of mental pursuits only, in their pretensions to things of this kind, and clear of all selfish and ambitious views, artifice, and party-design; this has ever been instanced in the wisest and most civilized nations, and in the progress of arts and sciences. For, though the first principles of things are but few, and these all ultimately terminate in unity, yet like the rays of light, from the solar luminary, which reflect an infinite variety of appearances, and so much the more, the less they are obscured and obstructed, so the greater the diversity of effect from these principles, the more is the eternal wisdom displayed, in any one part of the creation.

In regard to the final issue of the various opinions of a religious nature, among mankind, with their Creator, and of the many different customs arising from them, (than the lowest and most absurd of which, as well as the most rational and sublime, perhaps, nothing shews more the weakness of the human race, and its absolute dependance on a *Superior Being*) why may we not conclude, that, as a person of superior wisdom and sagacity, or of better information than others, sometimes observes and considers the disagreements and disputes, between persons of different judgment, or education, and inferior knowledge, but of sincere mind and intention, whether in the low and common affairs of life, or on things of a superior
and

and mental nature, on which they seem so widely to differ in opinion, that, by their manner of managing their arguments, or disputes, they would probably never agree; nay, instead of uniting, sometimes their opposition of sentiment may render them so much the more positive and tenacious of their different opinions, as to become highly incensed against each other (which is often the case with the more ignorant) because they do not understand the subjects of dispute all alike; yet, by his greater penetration and understanding of the affair in dispute, he plainly perceives they all mean, or intend, the same thing, in the main; and their views all center to one point, or what appears to them right, (though if left to themselves they would probably never agree) that they all are proportionably right; and, when properly understood, differ only either in circumstantial, or on account of their various degrees of understanding and conception, or according to such information as each is possessed of, or by reason of the different mediums of education and custom, through which they see; whence he may pity their ignorance, and perhaps blame their animosity, which arises from it; but cannot justly censure them for any thing, that is providentially out of their power: so, who will deny that the great *Creator* of mankind, who sees and knows all things, looks down upon his creatures, whom he has proportionably endowed with *reason*, and the proper *means* of answering the end of their existence, and, in his great *wisdom*, beholds how zealous they are to please him, and obtain felicity; which they all aim at, according to the different degrees of knowledge, capacity and ability afforded them? I say, who will venture to deny, notwithstanding their great disparity, disagreement, seeming inconsistency, and the many contrary customs, used by men, for that purpose (divers of which to one another, and not without reason, may

may appear very absurd and improper for the end designed thereby); that in his *wisdom and mercy*, which are over all his works, he commiserates all, as the most wise, affectionate and true *parent of his offspring*? For, according to the divine model above, it is in degree here below; as wisdom (which is the real *sent* of the Almighty) prevails, *ignorance* vanishes; and as that superior happiness, and true Christian charity, which are the consequences of the former, gain ground, among men, in the same proportion must mankind necessarily approach to, or partake of, the supreme love and perfection; which ever take place of all violence, cruelty and wrath, the infernal dregs, and genuine offspring of the latter; whose habitation is only in the regions of darkness and sorrow, the reward of false conception and error; which never can be the situation of the perfectly happy, the end of all true religion.

Extract

Extract from two short Latin poems, inscribed to James Logan, Esquire, by Thomas Makin; one of which is dated 1728, the other 1729; the former is entitled, "Encomium Pennsylvaniae;" the latter, which is here principally retained, "In laudes Pensilvaniae poema, seu, descriptio Pensilvaniae:" found among James Logan's papers, many years after his disease: they seem to have been written chiefly for amusement in his old age, &c.

DESCRIPTIO PENNSYLVANIAE, ANNO 1729.

Hæc habet, & regio memorabile nomen, habebit
 Auctior auctoris tempus in omne fui;
 Qui fuit illustri proavorum stemmate natus,
 Sed virtute magis nobilis ipse suâ.
 Præcipuè illustrem sua se sapientia fecit;
 Vixit apud claros dignus honore viros:
 Qui quamvis obiit, tamen usque memoria vivet;
 Nominis atque sui fama perennis erit.
 Semer honos nomenque suum laudesque manebunt,
 Hujus, qui terræ nobilis auctor erat.
 Hæc sua Proprietas; hinc *Pennsylvania* primùm,
 Hæc fuit ex domini nomine dicta sui.
 Rege sibi *Carolo* concessa suisque *Secundo*,
 Pro claris meritis officioque patris.

Zonæ terra subest alternæ, ubi veris & æstûs,
 Autumni gelidæ sunt hiemisque vices.
 Hîc ter quinque dies numerat longissimus horas,
 Cum sol in cancro fidere transit iter.
 Hîc tamen interdum glacialis frigora brumæ
 Et calor æstivus vix toleranda premunt.
 Sæpe sed immodicum boreale refrigerat æstum
 Flamen, & australis mitigat aura gelu.
 Hîc adeo inconstans est, & variabile cælum,
 Una ut non rarò est æstus hiemisque die.
 Sæpe prior quamvis nitido sit sole ferena,
 Postera sit multis imbribus atra dies.
 Vis adeo interdum venti violenta ruentis,
 Ut multa in sylvis sternitur arbor humi.

Hanc

Note, *Thomas Makin* appears to have been one of the most early settlers in the province of *Pennsylvania* from — for, in the year 1689, he was second master (*George Keith* being the first) of the Friends' public grammar school, in *Philadelphia*; which was the first of the kind in the province, and instituted about that time. He was sometimes clerk of the Provincial Assembly; which, in early time, was long held in the Friends' meeting house. The *English* version is made by the transcriber, R. P.

A DESCRIPTION OF PENNSYLVANIA, ANNO 1729.

First, *Pennsylvania's* memorable name,
 From *Penn*, the Founder of the country, came;
 Sprung from a worthy and illustrious race,
 But more ennobled by his virtuous ways.
 High in esteem among the great he stood;
 His wisdom made him lovely, great and good.
 Tho' he be said to die, he will survive;
 Thro' future time his memory shall live:
 This wise *Proprietor*, in love and praise,
 Shall grow and flourish to the end of days.
 With just *propriety*, to future fame,
 Fair *Pennsylvania* shall record his name.
 This, *Charles the Second* did, at first command,
 And for his father's merits gave the land:
 But his high virtue did its value raise
 To future glory, and to lasting praise.

Beneath the temp'rate zone the country lies,
 And heat and cold with grateful change supplies.
 To fifteen hours extends the longest day,
 When sol in cancer points his fervid ray:
 Yet here the winter season is severe;
 And summer's heat is difficult to bear.
 But western winds oft cool the scorching ray,
 And southern breezes warm the winter's day.
 Yet oft, tho' warm and fair the day begun,
 Cold storms arise before the setting sun:
 Nay, oft so quick the change, so great its pow'r,
 As summer's heat, and winter, in an hour!
 So violent the wind, that oft the ground
 With rooted trees is cover'd wide and round.

Hanc fera gens *Indi* terram tenuere coloni;
 Moribus at nunc est mitior usque bonis;
 Pacis amans, *Anglis* concordi fœdere juncti;
 Cura quibus pactam non violare fidem.
 Hi fugiunt rixas, & noxia femina litis,
 Et leges ultro justitiamque colunt.
 Hi spernunt artes, durum fugiuntque laborem;
 Hos vacuos curis libera vita juvat.
 Hi venatores sylvas & tesqua frequentant,
 Quærentes ubi sit præda reperta feræ;
 Unde sibi pelles, epulæque parantur inemptæ;
 Utile sunt pelles, merx pretiosa bonum.
 Devia rura diu longè latèque pererrant,
 Et bene nota sibi semper ubique via est.
 Durior interea exercet vigilantia nuptas;
 Officium quibus est farra parare domi.
 Hæ bajulant fasces graves humerisque pusillis,
 Et longum faciunt nunc patienter iter;
 Nunc findunt lignum, fiscoque ex vimine corbes
 Texunt; has urget sedulus usque labor:
 Nunc hæ corna legunt, & humi nascentia fragra;
 Nunc pisces capiunt insidiis & aves.
 Indorum juvenes ullum gustare liquorem
 Non licet (exemplar nobile) præter aquam.
 Mollibus in lectis *Indi* requiescere nolunt,
 Nunc humus est lectus, nunc sibi nuda teges.
 Pellibus antiquo, qui more fuere ferinis
 Induti, nunc est gauſape vestis iis.
 Semper & incedunt capitis velamine nudi,
 Sed futæ pelles crura pedesque tegunt,
 Et quamvis cutis est fuscæ color omnibus idem,
 Forma decora tamen corporis estque vigor.
 Hi lenocinium fugiunt & scorta pudici;
 Fœdera conjugii non violare solent.
 Hos docet ore loqui facilis natura deserto;
 Linguæ grande loquens est idioma suæ.
 O gens *Indorum*, vos terque quaterque beati!
 Nulla quibus requiem sollicitudo vetat!
 Non regio hæc *Indos* armis subigendo tenetur;
 Sed certa emptori conditione data est,
 Vivitur hîc igitur tuto sine militis usu;
 Et sibi securus propria quisque tenet.
 Hîc locus est multis felix, ubi sedibus aptis,
 Sors optata dedit, non sine pace frui.

A savage *Indian* race here first was known ;
But milder now, in life and manners, grown.
To friendship's laws they faithfully adhere ;
And love the *Engliſh* with a mind ſincere.
Of jars and baneful ſtrife they ſhun the cauſe ;
And practice juſtice uncompell'd by laws.
A life of eaſe, and void of care, they chuſe ;
But labour, and the toiliſome arts, reſuſe.
Thro' woods and foreſts wide, they hunting ſtray,
In ſearch of beaſts, their much beloved prey.
Their ſkins, for cloaths, their fleſh, for food is fought ;
Warm raiment, and delicious food, unbought.
Thro' devious wilds, and woody deſerts, they
Oft wander far, but never loſe their way.

But more laborious in domeſtic care,
The female ſex their corn and bread prepare ;
Long journeys theſe, in patience, perſevere ;
And heavy loads upon their bodies bear.
With unremitted labor, too, the ſame
Their wooden veſſels make, and baſkets frame.
Wild fruits and ſtrawberries by them are fought ;
And fiſh and fowl by various methods caught.
All ſtronger drink than water from the lake,
The *Indian* youth forbidden are to take.
No feather bed, nor eaſy couch they keep ;
Upon the ground, or ſhaggy ſkin they ſleep.
For cloathing, fiſt warm ſkins they did poſſeſs ;
But now coarſe linen hides their nakedneſs.
Where'er they go their heads are always bare ;
But ſkins upon their feet and legs they wear.
Tho' brown, or copper colour, marks them all,
Yet are their bodies proper, ſtrait and tall.
Chaſte in their lives, unlawful luſts they fly ;
Scarce ever known to break the marriage tie.
With native eloquence their ſpeech abounds,
Untaught, with figures grand, and lofty ſounds.
O happy *Indians* ! bleſs'd with joy and peace ;
No future cares of life diſturb your eaſe !

On juſt and equal terms the land was gain'd,
No force of arms has any right obtain'd :
'Tis here without the uſe of arms, alone,
The bleſs'd inhabitant enjoys his own ;
Here many, to their wiſh, in peace enjoy
Their happy lots, and nothing doth annoy.

But

Dira sed infelix, heu ! bella *Nov' Anglia* sensit,
Indis quæ semper gens malifida fuit.

Sed semel hîc rumor mendax clamavit, *ad arma*,
Incola cui nimium credulus omnis erat.

Hæc malefana die fuit acta, tragædia quâdam,
Cum convenerunt undique turba frequens :

Scilicet ut major fieret commotus in urbe,
Notior & multis rumor ubique foret ;

Usque adeo fuit hâc confusus in urbe tumultus,
Ut neque tunc leges, ordo nec ullus erat,

Hîc remove sua instanti properabat ab hoste,
Ille nihil contra jussit ab urbe vehi.

Sed quodcunque sibi voluit dementia talis
Hæc damno multis est memoranda dies :

Vespere sed tandem fuit hoc stratagema resectum ;
Fabula tunc istam finiit acta diem.

Fertilis hîc frugum tellus, optataque rerum
Ufibus humanis copia semper adest.

Hîc bene cultus ager lætis ornatur aristis,
Et solito messis tempore fervet opus.

Quævis sylva feris, & piscibus amnis abundat ;
Fertque suum fructûs quælibet arbor onus.

Hîc oviumque greges errant, armenta boumque,
Errat & hîc proles multiplicata suûm.

Hîc saliant damæ, lepores, celeresque sciuri,
(Quæ sunt immunis præda cuique feræ)

Hîc latet in sylvis ursus, panthera, lupusque,
Qui pecus innocuum sæpe vorare solent.

Hîc habitat latebras furto notissima vulpes ;
Callida quæ prædam nocte dieque capit,

Rarior at nunc hæc proles inimica futura est,
Quæ segetive nocent, lanigerove gregi.

Lex fuit hîc etenim tales bene cauta necandi,
Erret ut in sylvis tutius omne pecus.

Amphibia hîc & non defunt animalia quædam,
Terra quibus vitam præbet & unda parem ;

Merx quorum pelles tantum venalis habetur ;
Utile non aliquod turpe cadaver habet.

Hîc avis est quædam dulci celeberrima voce,
Quæ variare sonos usque canendo solet.

Hîc avis est quædam minima & pulcherrima plumis,
Sugere quæ flores usque volando solet.

Unde fugam muscæ in morem properare videtur,
Tanquam non oculis aspicienda diu.

Hîc

But sad *New England's* diff'rent conduct show'd
What dire effects from injur'd *Indians* flow'd !

Yet once to *arms false rumor* called here ;
To which the vulgar most inclined were.
'Twas on a certain day the plot began ;
Deluded crowds together madly ran :
By artful means the stratagem was laid,
And great commotion thro' the city made ;
So wild the tumult and so great the fear,
No law nor order was observed there :
While from th' approaching foe to haste away,
One urg'd, another orders gave, to stay.
This strange affair, whatever was design'd,
For loss to many, will be kept in mind.
The ev'ning did the plot's design betray ;
The farce was ended with the closing day,

This fruitful land all plenty doth produce ;
And never fails to answer human use.
Here yellow *Ceres* loads the joyful fields ;
And golden crops the happy harvest yields.
With beasts the woods, with fish the streams abound ;
The bending trees with plenteous fruits are crown'd.
Here flocks and herds in flow'ry pastures stray ;
Their num'rous young around them feed and play.
The squirrels, rabbits, and the timid deer
To beasts of prey are yet exposed here :
The bear, the panther, and the wolf devour
Th' innocuous flocks, which seldom are secure.
Here dwells the crafty fox, which, night and day,
Invents his wiles, to catch th' unwary prey.
But now these noxious beasts, which much annoy
The growing grain, and tender flocks destroy,
Are by a law diminish'd, with their breed,
And in the woods more safe the cattle feed.
Amphibious animals here too are found ;
Which both in water live, and on the ground ;
These for their skins alone are ever priz'd,
And lose their lives ; their carcase is despis'd.
'Tis here the *mocking bird* extends his throat,
And imitates the birds of ev'ry note ;
'Tis here the smallest of the feather'd train,
The *humming bird*, frequents the flow'ry plain,
Its motion quick seems to elude the eye ;
It now a bird appears, and now a fly.

The

Hic avis est quædam rubro formosa colore,
 Gutturæ quæ plumis est maculata nigris.
 Hic avis est repetens, *Whip, Whip, Will*, voce jocosa;
 Quæ tota verno tempore nocte canit
 Hic & aves aliæ, quotquot generantur ab ovis,
 Scribere jam quarum nomina inane foret.
 Innumeræ volitare solent hic sæpe columbæ;
 Unde frequens multis obvia præda datur.
 Hic æstate solet tanquam ære gaudeat alto,
 Tollere se ex summis sæpe acipenser aquis.
 Qui salit ac refilit toties, (mirabile visu)
 In cymbas ingens præda aliquando cadit.
 Regius hic piscis minimè pretiosus habetur;
 Rarior est at ubi, carior est & ibi.
 Fossiles varias hic invenere fodinas;
 Unde metalla patent, quæ latuere diu.
 Floribus hic sylvæ variis ornantur & herbis;
 In quibus & virtus & medicina latet.
 Hic muscæ quædam tanquam lampyrades alis,
 Æstiva nitidis undequæ nocte volant.
 Hic lapis est (*Magnes*) quo non pretiosior ullus,
 Per latum nautis, qui mare monstrat iter.
 Hic lapides linum* pars assimilare videtur,
 Quæ non exusta est, nec fit in igne minor
 Sed merx præcipuè, regio quam præbet emendam,
 Est venale quidem semper ubique bonum:
 Scilicet omne bonum Cereris quod copia præbet;
 Quodque onus hic multis navibus esse solet.
 Hujus fama loci multos alicunde vocavit,
 Libertas quibus est dulcis amorque lucri.
 Huc alienigenæ veniunt, venientque quotannis,
 Omnibus usque adeo libera terra placet.
 Censibus hic nemo nimium vexatur iniquis;
 Unusquisque rei pro ratione licet.
 Hic venatori sylvas licet ire per omnes;
 Quamque capit prædam vendicat esse suam.
 Omnibus hic etiam capiendi copia pisces,
 Retibus aut hamis quolibet amne datur.
 Qualis in *Europa* concessa licentia non est,
 Commoda ubi curæ quisque tenere sua.

Per

* Asbestus.

The various *woodpeckers* here charm the sight;
Of mingled red, of beauteous black and white.
Here's *whip-per-will*; a bird, whose fanci'd name
From its nocturnal note imagin'd, came.
Here, in the fall, large flocks of pigeons fly,
So num'rous, that they darken all the sky.
Here other birds of ev'ry kind appear,
Whose names would be too long to mention here.

Large sturgeons num'rous crowd the Delaware;
Which, in warm weather, leap into the air;
So high, that (strange to tell!) they often fly
Into the boats, which on the river ply!
That royal fish is little valu'd here;
But where more scarce, 'tis more esteem'd and dear.

Here num'rous mines of many kinds are found,
And precious metals, treasured in the ground.
The verdant woods, roots, herbs, and flow'rs produce,
For many virtues fam'd for human use.
Here insects are, which many much admire,
Whose plumes in summer ev'nings shine like fire.
Here too the *magnet's* found, whose wond'rous pow'r
Directs the seamen to each distant shore.
Here is the stone-like flax* of wond'rous fame,
For not consuming in the burning flame!

But the chief produce of this happy land
Is always good, and ever in demand:
And bounteous Ceres' rich redundant stores
Are shipp'd abroad to many distant shores.
Its fame to distant regions far has spread,
And some for peace, and some for profit, led;
Born in remotest climes, to settle here,
They leave their native soil, and all that's dear;
And still will flock from far, here to be free;
Such pow'rful charms has lovely liberty!

Here high unequal taxes have no place;
A just proportion ev'ry person pays.
Th' extensive woods abound with various game,
Where all may freely take, and use the same.
In ev'ry flowing stream, all persons may
Take plenteous fish, and freely use the prey.
Such privilege in Europe is unknown;
Where ev'ry man is bounded with his own.

'Twas

* Asbestos.

Per maris huc primum venere pericla *Britanni*;
 Deinde alii patriam deseruere suam.
 Adveniunt multi, *Germana* & *Hibernica* proles,
 Quos huc sæpe nimis navis onusta vehit.
 Hanc terram sibi non acquisivere *Britanni*;
 Si licet externis omnibus esse locum.
 Sed quanto fit agri major cultura quotannis,
 Hinc tanto rerum copia major erit.
 Arboribus scissis tellurem scindit arator;
 Nascitur hinc sparso semine læta seges.
 Dulcis aquæ per rura fluunt hinc undique fontes,
 Unde pecus gaudet pingue levare sitim.
 Florida limosæ fiunt hinc prata paludes;
 Terra ferax est, quæ nuper eremus erat.
 Legislatores, electi ad jura quotannis,
 Conveniunt quoties constituenda libet.
 Publica nostra salus æquo moderamine legum
 Servatur; leges dant quæ cuique suum.
 Quisque suo meritis hinc dat pro crimine pænas;
 Lex parcit nullis intemerata reis;
 Atque Magistratus justè recteque gerendi
 Quique potestatem jusque minister habet.
 Sed licet imprimis ideo lex ipsa statuta est,
 Puniat ut vitium, justitiamque colat;
 Heu! quoties virtus legis corrumpitur auro,
 Pauperis &, quovis judice, causa perit!
 Eloquar, an fileam? si quando pecunia desit,
 Lex perit, & nihili justus habetur inops!
 Si tibi lis fuerit cum quovis aurea dante
 Plurima (crede mihi) munera, victus eris!
 Ærea cum *Danaen* inclusam turris haberet,
 Semper ut infelix innuba virgo foret;
 Quàm facilè tegulas prorumperet aureus imber!
 Quid non vis auri vincit, amorque Jovis?
 Non ergo mirum est hominum si vendere leges
 Auri non æquus pectora cogat amor.
 Cum fera sævit hiems glacie, fluvialis & unda,
 Atque latet tellus undique tecta nive;
 Circumclusa ratis, si non foret anchora, fixa est,
 Dum rigidum solvat mitior aura gelu.
 Et quamvis *Boreas* gelido bacchatur ab arcto,
 Inturbata tamen fluminis unda filet.
 Ludere jam cessat summis acipenser ab undis,
 Atque alii pisces ima profunda petunt.

Sed

'Twas hither first the *British* cross'd the main;
 Thence many others left their native plain:
Hibernia's sons forsake their native home;
 And from *Germania* crowded vessels come.
 Not for themselves alone the *British* care;
 Since ev'ry stranger may partake a share.
 Hence still more culture shall the soil receive;
 And ev'ry year increasing plenty give.
 Clear'd from the woods, more fruitful lands they gain;
 And yellow *Ceres* loads the extended plain.
 Here bubbling fountains flow thro' ev'ry mead;
 Where flocks and herds delight to drink and feed.
 The marshy grounds improv'd rich meadows yield;
 The wilderness is made a fruitful field.

The Legislators, chosen ev'ry year,
 Proceed to act, as shall to them appear.
 Here just administration of the laws
 Make public good, and private right one cause.
 All crimes are punish'd, as their natures are;
 The laws unwrested no offenders spare.
 All civil magistrates have pow'r and trust,
 To act, in office, what is right and just.

Tho' first it was th' intention of the laws
 To punish vice, and favour virtue's cause;
 Yet, by the pow'r of gold how oft is lost
 The poor man's cause, and sacred justice cross'd!
 Nay, may it not be said, for cursed gold,
 Both law and justice oft are to be sold!
 If with the rich, to law a poor man go,
 Believe me, he shall have an overthrow!
 For *Danae* fair had still remain'd a maid,
 And in the brazen tow'r securely staid,
 Had not the pow'r of gold unbarr'd the chain;
 What cannot gold and pow'rful love* obtain!
 What wonder then, if love of gold compel
 The minds of men the right of law to sell?

* or Jove.

When stormy winter whitens all below,
 When woods and plains are clad in ice and snow,
 The ships with icy chains are anchor'd fast,
 Till the dissolving spring return at last;
 Tho' *boreas* rage, and stormy tempests blow,
 The streams are silent, and not seen to flow;
 The fish then near the surface cease to play,
 And to the bottom safely make their way.

Sed glacie ruptâ* lino piscator & hamo, * or sectâ.
 Ex alto pisces gurgite sæpe capit.
 Usque adeo interdum fuit hîc durabile frigus,
 Trans fluvium vidi plaustra onerata vehi.
 Hîc tamen interdum totius tempore brumæ
 Navibus hæc amnis pervia præbet iter:
 Cymbaque remigio velox, veloque frequenter
 Advehit & revehit quâ via ducit onus.
 Usque adeo incerta est hîc & variabilis aura,
 Alternasque vices frigus & æstus habet.
 Pulchra duos inter sita stat *Philadelphia* rivos;
 Inter quos duo sunt millia longa viæ.
Delawar hic major, *Sculkil* minor ille vocatur;
Indis & *Suevis* notus uterque diu.
 Ædibus ornatur multis urbs limite longo,
 Quæ parva emicuit tempore magna brevi.
 Hîc plateas menfor spatiis delineat æquis,
 Et domui recto est ordine juncta domus.
 Quinque sacrae hâc ædes una numerantur in urbe,
 Altera non etiam distat ab urbe procul.
 Ex quibus una alias est quæ supereminet omnes;
 Cujus nondum ingens perficiatur opus.
 Præcinit hîc sacros divina melodia psalmos:
 Et vox totius succinit inde chori.
 Elevet hoc hominum mentes, & mulceat aures,
 Sed cor devotum pfallit in aure Dei.
 Basis huic posita est excelsæ firma futuræ
 Turris, ubi dicunt æra sonora fore.
 Hîc in gymnasiis linguæ docentur & artes
 Ingenuæ; multis doctor & ipse fui.
 Una schola hîc alias etiam supereminet omnes
Romano & *Græco* quæ docet ore loqui.
 Hîc spatiosa* domus tantæ bene convenit urbi, * or
 In quâ quotidie venditur omne penus. speciosa.
 Hujus & e summis majori voce quotannis
 Electus prætor regulus urbis adest.
 Hîc portus multis statio est bene nota carinis,
 Curvo ubi dente tenax anchora mordet humum.
 Hîc mercaturæ faciunt plerique periculum;
 Quisque sibi lucrum quærit ubique suum.
 Artifices adfunt etiam, quos exigit usus,
 Qui sese excercent qualibet arte suâ.
 Multa per hos pendent omnes insignia vicos,
 Quod venale domum monstrat habere merum.

Nunc

But yet thro' holes, which in the ice are made,
 With hook and line goes on the fisher's trade.
 Sometimes the ice so strong and firm we know,
 That loaded waggons on the rivers go!
 But yet so temp'rate are some winters here,
 That in the streams no bars of ice appear;
 And all the season boats and shipping may,
 With oar and sail divide the liquid way;
 So various and uncertain is the clime,
 For heat and cold extreme, in little time!

Fair *Philadelphia* next is rising seen,
 Between two rivers plac'd, two miles between;
 The *Delaware* and *Sculkil*, new to fame,
 Both ancient streams, yet of a modern name.
 The city, form'd upon a beauteous plan,
 Has many houses built, tho' late began;
 Rectangular the streets, direct and fair;
 And rectilinear all the ranges are.
 Five houses here for sacred use are known,
 Another stands not far without the town.
 Of these appears one in a grander style;
 But yet unfinish'd is the lofty pile.
 Here psalms divine melodious accents raise,
 And choral symphony sweet songs of praise;
 To raise the mind, and sooth the pious ear;
 But God devoted minds doth always hear.
 A lofty tow'r is founded on this ground,
 For future bells to make a distant sound.
 Here schools, for learning, and for arts, are seen,
 In which to many I've a teacher been;
 But one, in teaching, doth the rest excel,
 To know and speak the Greek and Latin well.
 Here too, one spacious building we behold,
 Where all provisions brought are daily sold;
 From whose high steps too, loudly is proclaim'd
 The annual Magistrate, the Mayor nam'd.

Here, in safe harbour, num'rous vessels moor,
 At anchor some, and some along the shore.
 In commerce many cross the stormy main,
 To distant countries, in pursuit of gain.
 All necessary trades here get employ,
 And useful arts, which large rewards enjoy.
 Here signs, thro' all the streets, are hung in view,
 Where entertainment may be had, to shew.

The

Nunc sub nave canunt hilares encomia vini
Nautæ; nunc tutos anchora fixa tenet:
Nunc sub sole sitim gaudent restinguere siccam,
Nectoreum rorem, ficcus ut ipse bibit.
Nunc & fonte libet puros haurire liquores,
Qui pretio nullo nocte dieque fluunt.
Vinea cum patinâ lætis florente corymbis,
Indicat hospitium semper adesse bonum.
Scribere sed nimis est insignia nomina cuncta,
Quæ jam descripsi sint meminisse satis.
Providus in morem formicæ alimenta reponit
Rusticus hiberni frigoris usque memor.
Æstivo reputans quodumque labore lucratur,
Quæ mox insequitur, longa vorabit hyems.
Stramine tecta replet Cerealibus horrea donis
Impiger, & curat condere quicquid habet:
Despicit exoticas que dapes, vestesque superbas,
Contentus modicis vivere pace suis.
Esuriens dulces epulas depromit inemptas,
Et proprio vestis vellere texta placet.
Parva humilisque domus, latos quæ prospicit agros,
Parta vel empta, sibi sufficit atque suis.
Utilis est illi, si non opulenta supella;
Res sapiens omnes utilitate probat.
O! mihi si liceat sylvas habitare beatas,
Et modico victu, non sine pace, frui.

THOMAS MAKIN.

1729.

The merry failors, while they land their wares,
The praise of *Bacchus* sing, and ease their cares;
Yet often from the spring the draught is fought,
Which here to all doth freely flow unbought;
But where fair ivy crowns the flowing bowl,
There dwells the large, the hospitable soul.
More things, at present, I forbear to name;
Because too long;—these are enough for fame.
(Except the country swains' distinguish'd praise
Demand the notice of my closing lays).

The farmer, provident, amidst his cares,
For winter, like the prudent ant, prepares;
Foreknowing, all that summer doth produce,
Is only for consuming winter's use.
He fills his barns and cellars with good cheer,
Against that dreary season of the year.
He scorns exotic foods, and gaudy drefs,
Content to live on homely fare, in peace;
Sweet to his taste his unbought dainties are;
And his own *home-spun* he delights to wear.
His lowly dwelling views his large domain,
Improv'd in part, where peace and plenty reign.
Plain furniture, but useful, he doth chuse;
And wisely values ev'ry thing for use.
In these blest shades may I delight to be;
Here little is enough, with peace, for me.

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APPENDIX

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

History of Pennsylvania.

PART I.

CONTAINING,

- No. I. *Certain Conditions, or Concessions, in 1681.*
II. *William Penn's Frame of Government and Laws, &c. published in 1682.*
III. *The Charter of 1683.*
IV. *The Charter of 1696.*
V. *Address of the Assembly to William Penn, with his answer, in 1701.*
VI. *Charter of the City of Philadelphia, in 1701.*
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No. I.

Certain conditions, or concessions, agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province, the eleventh of July, one thousand six hundred and eighty-one.

THAT so soon as it pleaseth God that the abovesaid persons arrive there, a certain quantity of land, or ground plat, shall be laid out, for a large town or city, in the most convenient place, upon the river, for health and navigation; and every purchaser and adventurer shall, by lot, have so much land therein as will answer to the proportion, which he hath bought, or taken up, upon

upon rent: but it is to be noted, that the surveyors shall consider what roads or high-ways will be necessary to the cities, towns, or through the lands. Great roads from city to city not to contain less than *forty* feet, in breadth, shall be first laid out and declared to be for high-ways, before the dividend of acres be laid out for the purchaser, and the like observation to be had for the streets in the towns and cities, that there may be convenient roads and streets preserved, not to be encroached upon by any planter or builder, that none may build irregularly to the damage of another. *In this, custom governs.*

II. That the land in the town be laid out together after the proportion of *ten thousand* acres of the whole country, that is, *two hundred* acres, if the place will bear it: however, that the proportion be by lot, and entire, so as those that desire to be together, especially those that are, by the catalogue, laid together, may be so laid together both in the town and country.

III. That, when the country lots are laid out, every purchaser, from *one thousand*, to *ten thousand* acres, or more, not to have above *one thousand* acres together, unless in *three* years they plant a family upon every *thousand* acres; but that all such as purchase together, lie together; and, if as many as comply with this condition, that the whole be laid out together.

IV. That, where any number of purchasers, more or less, whose number of acres amounts to *five* or *ten thousand* acres, desire to sit together in a lot, or township, they shall have their lot, or township, cast together, in such places as have convenient harbours, or navigable rivers attending it, if such can be found; and in case any one or more purchasers plant not according to agreement, in this concession, to the prejudice of others of the same township, upon complaint thereof made to the Governor, or his Deputy, with assistance, they may award (if they see cause) that the complaining purchaser may, paying the survey money, and purchase money, and interest thereof, be entitled, enrolled and lawfully invested, in the lands so not seated.

V. That the proportion of lands, that shall be laid out in the first great town, or city, for every purchaser, shall be after the proportion of *ten* acres for every *five hundred* acres purchased, if the place will allow it.

VI. That notwithstanding there be no mention made, in the several deeds made to the purchasers; yet the said *William Penn* does accord and declare, that all rivers, rivulets, woods, and underwoods, waters, watercourses, quarries, mines, and minerals, (except

(except mines royal) shall be freely and fully enjoyed, and wholly by the purchasers, into whose lot they fall.

VII. That, for every *fifty* acres, that shall be allotted to a servant, at the end of his service, his quit-rent shall be *two shillings* per annum, and the master, or owner of the servant, when he shall take up the other *fifty acres*, his quit-rent, shall be *four shillings* by the year, or, if the master of the servant (by reason in the indentures he is so obliged to do) allot out to the servant *fifty* acres in his own division, the said master shall have, on demand, allotted him, from the Governor, the *one hundred* acres, at the chief rent of six shillings per annum.

VIII. And, for the encouragement of such as are ingenious and willing to search out gold and silver mines in this province, it is hereby agreed, that they have liberty to bore and dig in any man's property, fully paying the damage done; and in case a discovery should be made, that the discoverer have *one-fifth*, the owner of the soil (if not the discoverer) a tenth part, the Governor *two-fifths*, and the rest to the public treasury, saving to the king the share reserved by patent.

IX. In every *hundred thousand* acres, the Governor and Proprietary, by lot, reserveth ten to himself, what shall lie but in one place.

X. That every man shall be bound to plant, or man, so much of his share of land as shall be set out and surveyed, within *three* years after it is so set out and surveyed, or else it shall be lawful for new comers to be settled thereupon, paying to them their survey money, and they go up higher for their shares.

XI. There shall be no buying and selling, be it with an *Indian*, or one among another, of any goods to be exported, but what shall be performed in public market, when such places shall be set apart, or erected, where they shall pass the public stamp, or mark. If bad ware, and prized as good, or deceitful in proportion or weight, to forfeit the value, as if good and full weight and proportion, to the public treasury of this province, whether it be the merchandize of the *Indian*, or that of the planters.

XII. And forasmuch, as it is usual with the planters to overreach the poor natives of the country, in trade, by goods not being good of the kind, or debased with mixtures, with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed, whatever is sold to the *Indians*, in consideration of their furs, shall be sold in the market place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad; if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the natives may not be abused, nor provoked.

XIII. That no man shall, by any ways or means, in word, or deed, affront, or wrong any *Indian*, but he shall incur the same penalty of the law, as if he had committed it against his fellow planter, and if any *Indian* shall abuse, in word, or deed, any planter of this province, that he shall not be his own judge upon the *Indian*, but he shall make his complaint to the Governor of the province, or his Lieutenant, or Deputy, or some inferior Magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his power, take care with the king of the said *Indian*, that all reasonable satisfaction be made to the said injured planter.

XIV. That all differences, between the planters and the natives, shall also be ended by *twelve* men, that is, by six planters and six natives; that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.

XV. That the *Indians* shall have liberty to do all things relating to improvement of their ground, and providing sustenance for their families, that any of the planters shall enjoy.

XVI. That the laws, as to slanders, drunkenness, swearing, cursing, pride in apparel, trespasses, distresses, replevins, weights, and measures, shall be the same as in *England*, till altered by law in this province.

XVII. That all shall mark their hogs, sheep and other cattle, and what are not marked within *three* months after it is in their possession, be it young or old, it shall be forfeited to the Governor, that so people may be compelled to avoid the occasions of much strife between planters.

XVIII. That, in clearing the ground, care be taken to leave *one* acre of trees for every *five* acres cleared, especially to preserve oak and mulberries, for silk and shipping.

XIX. That all ship-masters shall give an account of their countries, names, ships, owners, freights and passengers, to an officer to be appointed for that purpose, which shall be registered within two days after their arrival, and if they shall refuse so to do, that then none presume to trade with them, upon forfeiture thereof; and that such masters be looked upon as having an evil intention to the province.

XX. That no person leave the province, without publication being made thereof, in the market place, three weeks before, and a certificate from some Justice of the Peace, of his clearness with his neighbours and those he dealt with, so far as such an assurance can be attained and given: and if any master of a ship shall, contrary hereunto, receive and carry away any person, that hath not
given

given that public notice, the said master shall be liable to all debts owing by the said person, so secretly transported from the province.

Lastly, That these are to be added to, or corrected, by and with the consent of the parties hereunto subscribed.

WILLIAM PENN.

*Sealed and delivered in
the presence of* }

WILLIAM BOELHAM,
HARBERT SPRINGET,
THOMAS PRUDYARD.

*Sealed and delivered in the
presence of all the Propri-
etors, who have hereunto
subscribed, except Thomas
Farrinborough and John
Goodson, in presence of* }

HUGH CHAMBERLEN,
R. MURRAY,
HARBERT SPRINGET,
HUMPHRY SOUTH,
THOMAS BARKER,
SAMUEL JOBSON,
JOHN JOSEPH MOORE,
WILLIAM POWEL,
RICHARD DAVIE,
GRIFFITH JONES,
HUGH LAMBE,
THOMAS FARRINBOROUGH,
JOHN GOODSON.

No. II.

The frame of the government of the province of Pensilvania, in America: together with certain laws agreed upon in England, by the Governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province. To be further explained and confirmed there, by the first provincial Council, that shall be held, if they see meet.

THE PREFACE.

WHEN the great and wise *God* had made the world, of all his creatures, it pleased him to chuse man his Deputy to rule it: and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honour and his happiness; and whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love
and

and truth, in his bosom, was the guide and keeper of his innocence. But lust prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that before had no power over him, took place upon him, and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live conformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction of the just law without, in a judicial administration.

This the Apostle teaches in divers of his epistles: "The law (says he) was added because of transgression:" In another place, "Knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man; but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and prophane, for murderers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, and for manstealers, for lyers, for perjured persons," &c. but this is not all, he opens and carries the matter of government a little further: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of *God*. The powers that be are ordained of *God*: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of *God*. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil; wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same." "He is the minister of *God* to thee for good." "Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake."

This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil doers; secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world, as good men should be. So that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end. For, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is as such, (though a lower, yet) an emanation of the same Divine Power, that is both author and object of pure religion; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operations: but that is only to evil doers; government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness and charity, as a more private society. They weakly err, that think there is no other use of government, than correction, which is the coarsest part of it: daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft, and daily necessary, make up much the greatest part of government; and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fell, and will continue among men, on earth, under the highest attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the
blessed

bleſſed *Second Adam*, the *Lord*, from heaven. Thus much of government in general, as to its riſe and end.

For particular *frames* and *models*, it will become me to ſay little; and comparatively I will ſay nothing. My reaſons are:—

First, That the age is too nice and difficult for it; there being nothing the wits of men are more buſy and divided upon. It is true, they ſeem to agree to the end, to wit, happineſs; but, in the means, they differ, as to divine, ſo to this human felicity; and the cauſe is much the ſame, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of uſing them rightly. Men ſide with their paſſions againſt their reaſon, and their ſiniſter intereſts have ſo ſtrong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them againſt the good of the things they know.

Secondly, I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and ſome ſingular emergences have not neceſſarily altered; nor is it eaſy to frame a civil government, that ſhall ſerve all places alike.

Thirdly, I know what is ſaid by the ſeveral admirers of *monarchy*, *aristocracy* and *democracy*, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men diſcourſe on the ſubject. But I chuſe to ſolve the controverſy with this ſmall diſtinction, and it belongs to all three: *Any government is free to the people under it* (whatever be the frame) *where the laws rule, and the people are a party to thoſe laws*, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confuſion.

But, laſtly, when all is ſaid, there is hardly one frame of government in the world ſo ill deſigned by its firſt founders, that, in good hands, would not do well enough; and ſtory tells us, the beſt, in ill ones, can do nothing that is great or good; witneſs the *Jewiſh* and *Roman* ſtates. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, ſo by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let the government be never ſo good, they will endeavour to warp and ſpoil it to their turn.

I know ſome ſay, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them: but let them conſider, that though good laws do well, good men do better: for good laws may want good men, and be aboliſhed or evaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor ſuffer ill ones. It is true, good laws have ſome awe upon ill miniſters, but that is where they have not power to eſcape or aboliſh them, and the people are generally wiſe and good:

good: but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, *viz.* men of wisdom and virtue, qualities, that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents, for their private patrimonies.

These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures, they will meet with, from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

But, next to the power of necessity, (which is a solicitor, that will take no denial) this induced me to a compliance, that we have (with reverence to God, and good conscience to men) to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the *frame* and *laws* of this government, to the great end of all government, *viz.* *To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power*; that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable, for their just administration: for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy: where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure. Which I humbly pray and hope *God* will please to make the lot of this of *Pensilvania*. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

THE FRAME, &c.

TO all people, to whom these presents shall come. WHEREAS king Charles the Second, by his letters patents, under the great seal of *England*, for the consideration therein mentioned, hath been graciously pleased to give and grant unto me *William Penn* (by the name of *William Penn*, Esquire, son and heir of Sir *William Penn* deceased) and to my heirs and assigns forever, all that tract of land, or province, called *Pensilvania*, in *America*, with divers great powers, preheminences, royalties, jurisdictions, and authorities, necessary for the well-being and government thereof: Now know ye, that for the well-being and government of the
said

saïd province, and for the encouragement of all the freemen and planters, that may be therein concerned, in pursuance of the powers aforementioned, I, the saïd *William Penn*, have declared, granted and confirmed, and by these presents, for me, my heirs and assigns, do declare, grant and confirm unto all the freemen, planters and adventurers of, in and to the saïd province, these liberties, franchises and properties, to be held, enjoyed and kept by the freemen, planters and inhabitants of the saïd province of *Pensilvania* for ever.

Imprimis. That the government of this province shall, according to the powers of the patent, consist of the Governor and freemen of the saïd province, in form of a provincial Council and General Assembly, by whom all laws shall be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted, as is hereafter respectively declared, that is to say—

II. That the freemen of the saïd province shall, on the twentieth day of the twelfth month, which shall be in this present year one thousand six hundred eighty and two, meet and assemble in some fit place, of which timely notice shall be before hand given by the Governor or his Deputy; and then, and there, shall chuse out of themselves *seventy-two* persons of most note for their wisdom, virtue and ability, who shall meet, on the tenth day of the first month next ensuing, and always be called, and act as, the provincial Council of the saïd province.

III. That, at the first choice of such provincial Council, one-third part of the saïd provincial Council shall be chosen to serve for three years, then next ensuing; one-third part, for two years then next ensuing; and one-third part, for one year then next ensuing such election, and no longer; and that the saïd third part shall go out accordingly: and on the twentieth day of the twelfth month, as aforesaid, yearly for ever afterwards, the freemen of the saïd province shall, in like manner, meet and assemble together, and then chuse twenty-four persons, being one-third of the saïd number, to serve in provincial Council for three years: it being intended, that one-third part of the whole provincial Council (always consisting, and to consist, of seventy-two persons, as aforesaid) falling off yearly, it shall be yearly supplied by such new yearly elections, as aforesaid; and that no one person shall continue therein longer than three years: and, in case any member shall decease before the last election during his time, that then at the next election ensuing his decease, another shall be chosen to supply his place, for the remaining time, he was to have served, and no longer.

IV. That,

IV. That, after the first seven years, every one of the said third parts, that goeth yearly off, shall be incapable of being chosen again for one whole year following: that so all may be fitted for government, and have experience of the care and burden of it.

V. That the provincial Council, in all cases and matters of moment, as their arguing upon bills to be passed into laws, erecting courts of justice, giving judgment upon criminals impeached, and choice of officers, in such manner as is herein after mentioned; not less than two-thirds of the whole provincial Council shall make a *quorum*; and that the consent and approbation of two-thirds of such *quorum* shall be had in all such cases and matters of moment. And moreover that, in all cases and matters of lesser moment, twenty-four Members of the said provincial Council shall make a *quorum*, the majority of which twenty-four shall, and may, always determine in such cases and causes of lesser moment.

VI. That, in this provincial Council, the Governor, or his Deputy, shall or may, always preside, and have a treble voice; and the said provincial Council shall always continue, and sit upon its own adjournments and committees.

VII. That the Governor and provincial Council shall prepare and propose to the General Assembly, hereafter mentioned, all bills, which they shall, at any time, think fit to be passed into laws, within the said province; which bills shall be published and affixed to the most noted places, in the inhabited parts thereof, thirty days before the meeting of the General Assembly, in order to the passing them into laws, or rejecting of them, as the General Assembly shall see meet.

VIII. That the Governor and provincial Council shall take care, that all laws, statutes and ordinances, which shall at any time be made within the said province, be duly and diligently executed.

IX. That the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all times, have the care of the peace and safety of the province, and that nothing be by any person attempted to the subversion of this frame of government.

X. That the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all times, settle and order the situation of all cities, ports, and market towns in every county, modelling therein all public buildings, streets and market places, and shall appoint all necessary roads, and high-ways in the province.

XI. That the Governor and Provincial shall, at all times, have power to inspect the management of the public treasury, and
punish

punish those who shall convert any part thereof to any other use, than what hath been agreed upon by the Governor, provincial Council and General Assembly.

XII. That the Governor and provincial Council, shall erect and order all public schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said province.

XIII. That, for the better management of the powers and trust aforesaid, the provincial Council shall, from time to time, divide itself into four distinct and proper committees, for the more easy administration of the affairs of the province, which divides the seventy-two into four eighteens, every one of which eighteens shall consist of six out of each of the three orders, or yearly elections, each of which shall have a distinct portion of business, as followeth: *First*, a committee of plantations, to situate and settle cities, ports, and market towns, and high-ways, and to hear and decide all suits and controversies relating to plantations. *Secondly*, A committee of justice and safety, to secure the peace of the province, and punish the mal-administration of those who subvert justice, to the prejudice of the public, or private, interest. *Thirdly*, A committee of trade and treasury, who shall regulate all trade and commerce, according to law, encourage manufacture and country growth, and defray the public charge of the province. And, *Fourthly*, A committee of manners, education and arts, that all wicked and scandalous living may be prevented, and that youth may be successively trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts: the *quorum* of each of which committees being six, that is, two out of each of the three orders, or yearly elections, as aforesaid, make a constant and standing Council of *twenty-four*, which will have the power of the provincial Council, being the quorum of it, in all cases not excepted in the fifth article; and in the said committees, and standing Council of the province, the Governor, or his Deputy, shall, or may preside, as aforesaid; and in the absence of the Governor, or his Deputy, if no one is by either of them appointed, the said committees or Council shall appoint a President for that time, and not otherwise; and what shall be resolved at such committees, shall be reported to the said Council of the province, and shall be by them resolved and confirmed before the same shall be put in execution; and that these respective committees shall not sit at one and the same time, except in cases of necessity.

XIV. And, to the end that all laws prepared by the Governor and provincial Council aforesaid, may yet have the more full concurrence of the freemen of the province, it is declared, granted

APPENDIX.

PART I.

and confirmed, that, at the time and place or places, for the choice of a provincial Council, as aforesaid, the said freemen shall yearly chuse Members to serve in a General Assembly, as their representatives, not exceeding two hundred persons, who shall yearly meet on the twentieth day of the second month, which shall be in the year one thousand six hundred eighty and three following, in the capital town, or city, of the said province, where, during eight days, if the several Members may freely confer with one another; and, if any of them see meet, with a committee of the provincial Council (consisting of three out of each of the four committees aforesaid, being twelve in all) which shall be, at that time, proposed by appointed to receive from any of them proposals, for the alteration or amendment of any of the said proposed and promulgated bills: and on the ninth day from their so meeting, the said General Assembly, after reading over the proposed bills by the Clerk of the provincial Council, and the occasions and motives for them being opened by the Governor or his Deputy, shall give their affirmative or negative, which to them seemeth best, in such manner as herein after is expressed. But not less than two-thirds shall make a *quorum* in the passing of laws, and choice of such officers as are by them to be chosen.

XV. That the laws so prepared and proposed, as aforesaid, that are assented to by the General Assembly, shall be enrolled as laws of the province, with this stile: *By the Governor, with the assent and approbation of the freemen in provincial Council and General Assembly.*

XVI. That, for the establishment of the government and laws of this province, and to the end there may be an universal satisfaction in the laying of the fundamentals thereof; the General Assembly shall, or may, for the first year, consist of all the freemen of and in the said province; and ever after it shall be yearly chosen, as aforesaid; which number of two hundred shall be enlarged as the country shall increase in people, so as it do not exceed five hundred, at any time; the appointment and proportioning of which, as also the laying and methodizing of the choice of the provincial Council and General Assembly, in future times, most equally to the divisions of the hundreds and counties, which the country shall hereafter be divided into, shall be in the power of the provincial Council to propose, and the General Assembly to resolve.

XVII. That the Governor and the provincial Council shall erect, from time to time, standing courts of justice, in such places and number as they shall judge convenient for the good government of the said province. And that the provincial Council

cil shall, on the thirteenth day of the first month, yearly, elect and present to the Governor, or his Deputy, a double number of persons, to serve for Judges, Treasurers, Masters of Rolls, within the said province, for the year next ensuing; and the freemen of the said province, in the county courts, when they shall be erected, and till then, in the General Assembly, shall, on the three and twentieth day of the second month, yearly, elect and present to the Governor, or his Deputy, a double number of persons, to serve for Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Coroners, for the year next ensuing; out of which respective elections and presentments, the Governor or his Deputy shall nominate and commissionate the proper number for each office, the third day after the said presentments, or else the first named in such presentment, for each office, shall stand and serve for that office the year ensuing.

XVIII. But forasmuch as the present condition of the province requires some immediate settlement, and admits not of so quick a revolution of officers; and to the end the said province may, with all convenient speed, be well ordered and settled, I, *William Penn*, do therefore think fit to nominate and appoint such persons for Judges, Treasurers, Masters of the Rolls, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Coroners, as are most fitly qualified for those employments; to whom I shall make and grant commissions for the said offices, respectively, to hold to them, to whom the same shall be granted, for so long time as every such person shall well behave himself in the office, or place, to him respectively granted, and no longer. And upon the decease or displacing of any of the said officers, the succeeding officer, or officers, shall be chosen, as aforesaid.

XIX. That the General Assembly shall continue so long as may be needful to impeach criminals, fit to be there impeached, to pass bills into laws, that they shall think fit to pass into laws, and till such time as the Governor and provincial Council shall declare that they have nothing further to propose unto them, for their assent and approbation: and that declaration shall be a dismiss to the General Assembly for that time; which General Assembly shall be, notwithstanding, capable of assembling together upon the summons of the provincial Council, at any time during that year, if the said provincial Council shall see occasion for their so assembling.

XX. That all the elections of members, or representatives of the people, to serve in provincial Council and General Assembly, and all questions to be determined by both, or either of them, that

that relate to passing of bills into laws, to the choice of officers, to impeachments by the General Assembly, and judgment of criminals upon such impeachments by the provincial Council, and to all other cases by them respectively judged of importance, shall be resolved and determined by the ballot; and unless on sudden and indispensable occasions, no business in provincial Council, or its respective committees, shall be finally determined the same day that it is moved.

XXI. That, at all times, when, and so often as it shall happen that the Governor shall, or may, be an infant, under the age of one and twenty years, and no guardians, or commissioners, are appointed, in writing, by the father of the said infant, or that such guardians, or commissioners, shall be deceased; that during such minority, the provincial Council shall, from time to time, as they shall see meet, constitute and appoint guardians, or commissioners, not exceeding three; one of which three shall preside as deputy, and chief guardian, during such minority, and shall have and execute, with the consent of the other two, all the power of a Governor, in all the public affairs and concerns of the said province.

XXII. That, as often as any day of the month, mentioned in any article of this charter, shall fall upon the first day of the week, commonly called the *Lord's Day*, the business appointed for that day, shall be deferred till the next day, unless in case of emergency.

XXIII. That no act, law, or ordinance whatsoever, shall, at any time hereafter, be made or done by the Governor of this province, his heirs, or assigns, or by the freemen in the provincial Council, or the General Assembly, to alter, change, or diminish the form, or effect, of this charter, or any part, or clause thereof, or contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the consent of the Governor, his heirs, or assigns, and six parts of seven of the said freemen in provincial Council and General Assembly.

XXIV. And lastly, that I, the said *William Penn*, for myself, my heirs and assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, that neither I, my heirs, nor assigns, shall procure or do any thing or things, whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expressed, shall be infringed or broken; and if any thing be procured by any person or persons contrary to these premises, it shall be held of no force or effect. In witness whereof, I, the said *William Penn*, have unto this present charter of liberties set my hand
and

and broad seal, this five and twentieth day of the second month, vulgarly called April, in the year of our *Lord* one thousand six hundred and eighty-two,

WILLIAM PENN.

Laws agreed upon in England, &c.

I. That the charter of liberties, declared, granted and confirmed the five and twentieth day of the second month, called April, 1682, before divers witnesses, by *William Penn*, Governor and chief Proprietor of *Pensilvania*, to all the freemen and planters of the said province, is hereby declared and approved, and shall be for ever held for fundamental in the government thereof, according to the limitations mentioned in the said charter.

II. That every inhabitant in the said province, that is or shall be, a purchaser of one hundred acres of land, or upwards, his heirs and assigns, and every person who shall have paid his passage, and taken up one hundred acres of land, at one penny an acre, and have cultivated ten acres thereof, and every person, that hath been a servant, or bonds-man, and is free by his service, that shall have taken up his fifty acres of land, and cultivated twenty thereof, and every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident in the said province, that pays scot and lot to the government; shall be deemed and accounted a freeman of the said province: and every such person shall, and may, be capable of electing, or being elected, representatives of the people, in provincial Council, or General Assembly, in the said province.

III. That all elections of members, or representatives of the people and freemen of the province of *Pensilvania*, to serve in provincial Council, or General Assembly, to be held within the said province, shall be free and voluntary: and that the elector, that shall receive any reward or gift, in meat, drink, monies, or otherwise, shall forfeit his right to elect; and such person as shall directly or indirectly give, promise, or bestow any such reward as aforesaid, to be elected, shall forfeit his election, and be thereby incapable to serve as aforesaid: and the provincial Council and General Assembly shall be the sole judges of the regularity, or irregularity of the elections of their own respective Members.

IV. That no money or goods shall be raised upon, or paid by, any of the people of this province by way of public tax, custom or contribution, but by a law, for that purpose made; and whoever shall levy, collect, or pay any money or goods contrary thereunto,

thereunto, shall be held a public enemy to the province, and a betrayer of the liberties of the people thereof.

V. That all courts shall be open, and justice shall neither be sold, denied nor delayed.

VI. That, in all courts all persons of all persuasions may freely appear in their own way, and according to their own manner, and there personally plead their own cause themselves; or, if unable, by their friend: and the first process shall be the exhibition of the complaint in court, fourteen days before the trial; and that the party, complained against, may be fitted for the same, he or she shall be summoned, no less than ten days before, and a copy of the complaint delivered him or her, at his or her dwelling house. But before the complaint of any person be received, he shall solemnly declare in court, that he believes, in his conscience, his cause is just.

VII. That all pleadings, processes and records in courts, shall be short, and in *English*, and in an ordinary and plain character, that they may be understood, and justice speedily administered.

VIII. That all trials shall be by twelve men, and as near as may be, peers or equals, and of the neighbourhood, and men without just exception; in cases of life, there shall be first twenty-four returned by the Sheriffs, for a grand inquest, of whom twelve, at least, shall find the complaint to be true; and then the twelve men, or peers, to be likewise returned by the Sheriff, shall have the final judgment. But reasonable challenges shall be always admitted against the said twelve men, or any of them.

IX. That all fees in all cases shall be moderate, and settled by the provincial Council, and General Assembly, and be hung up in a table in every respective court; and whosoever shall be convicted of taking more, shall pay two-fold, and be dismissed his employment; one moiety of which shall go to the party wronged.

X. That all prisons shall be work-houses, for felons, vagrants, and loose and idle persons; whereof one shall be in every county.

XI. That all prisoners shall beailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, where the proof is evident, or the presumption great.

XII. That all persons wrongfully imprisoned, or prosecuted at law, shall have double damages against the informer, or prosecutor.

XIII. That all prisons shall be free, as to fees, food and lodging.

XIV. That

XIV. That all lands and goods shall be liable to pay debts, except where there is legal issue, and then all the goods, and one-third of the land only.

XV. That all wills, in writing, attested by two witnesses, shall be of the same force, as to lands, as other conveyances, being legally proved within forty days, either within or without the said province.

XVI. That seven years quiet possession shall give an unquestionable right, except in cases of infants, lunatics, married women, or persons beyond the seas.

XVII. That all briberies and extortions whatsoever shall be severely punished.

XVIII. That all fines shall be moderate, and saving men's contentments, merchandize, or wainage.

XIX. That all marriages (not forbidden by the law of God, as to nearness of blood and affinity by marriage) shall be encouraged; but the parents, or guardians, shall be first consulted, and the marriage shall be published before it be solemnized; and it shall be solemnized by taking one another as husband and wife, before credible witnesses; and a certificate of the whole, under the hands of parties and witnesses, shall be brought to the proper register of that county, and shall be registered in his office.

XX. And, to prevent frauds and vexatious suits within the said province, that all charters, gifts, grants, and conveyances of land (except leases for a year or under) and all bills, bonds, and specialties above five pounds, and not under three months, made in the said province, shall be enrolled, or registered in the public enrolment office of the said province, within the space of two months next after the making thereof, else to be void in law, and all deeds, grants, and conveyances of land (except as aforesaid) within the said province, and made out of the said province, shall be enrolled or registered, as aforesaid, within six months next after the making thereof, and settling and constituting an enrolment office or registry within the said province, else to be void in law against all persons whatsoever.

XXI. That all defacers or corrupters of charters, gifts, grants, bonds, bills, wills, contracts, and conveyances, or that shall deface or falsify any enrolment, registry or record, within this province, shall make double satisfaction for the same; half whereof shall go to the party wronged, and they shall be dismissed of all places of trust, and be publicly disgraced as false men.

XXII. That

XXII. That there shall be a register for births, marriages, burials, wills, and letters of administration, distinct from the other registry.

XXIII. That there shall be a register for all servants, where their names, time, wages, and days of payment shall be registered.

XXIV. That all lands and goods of felons shall be liable, to make satisfaction to the party wronged twice the value; and for want of lands or goods, the felons shall be bondmen to work in the common prison, or work-house, or otherwise, till the party injured be satisfied.

XXV. That the estates of capital offenders, as traitors and murderers, shall go, one-third to the next of kin to the sufferer, and the remainder to the next of kin to the criminal.

XXVI. That all witnesses, coming, or called, to testify their knowledge in or to any matter or thing, in any court, or before any lawful authority, within the said province, shall there give or deliver in their evidence, or testimony, by solemnly promising to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, to the matter, or thing in question. And in case any person so called to evidence, shall be convicted of wilful falsehood, such person shall suffer and undergo such damage or penalty, as the person, or persons, against whom he or she bore false witness, did, or should, undergo; and shall also make satisfaction to the party wronged, and be publicly exposed as a false witness, never to be credited in any court, or before any Magistrate, in the said province.

XXVII. And, to the end that all officers chosen to serve within this province, may, with more care and diligence, answer the trust reposed in them, it is agreed, that no such person shall enjoy more than one public office, at one time.

XXVIII. That all children, within this province, of the age of twelve years, shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want.

XXIX. That servants be not kept longer than their time, and such as are careful, be both justly and kindly used in their service, and put in fitting equipage at the expiration thereof, according to custom.

XXX. That all scandalous and malicious reporters, backbiters, defamers and spreaders of false news, whether against Magistrates, or private persons, shall be accordingly severely punished, as enemies to the peace and concord of this province.

XXXI. That,

XXXI. That, for the encouragement of the planters and traders in this province, who are incorporated into a society, the patent granted to them by *William Penn*, Governor of the said province, is hereby ratified and confirmed.

XXXII.

* * * * *

XXXIII. That all factors or correspondents in the said province, wronging their employers, shall make satisfaction, and one-third over, to their said employers: and in case of the death of any such factor or correspondent, the committee of trade shall take care to secure so much of the deceased party's estate as belongs to his said respective employers.

XXXIV. That all Treasurers, Judges, Masters of the Rolls, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other officers and persons whatsoever, relating to courts, or trials of causes, or any other service in the government; and all Members elected to serve in provincial Council and General Assembly, and all that have right to elect such Members, shall be such as profess faith in Jesus Christ, and that are not convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and that are of twenty-one years of age, at least; and that all such so qualified, shall be capable of the said several employments and privileges, as aforesaid.

XXXV. That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no ways, be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever.

XXXVI. That, according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and the ease of the creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's day, people shall abstain from their common daily labour, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God according to their understandings.

XXXVII. That as a careless and corrupt administration of justice draws the wrath of God upon magistrates, so the wildness and looseness of the people provoke the indignation of God against a country: therefore, that all such offences against God, as, swearing, cursing, lying, prophane talking, drunkenness, drinking of healths, obscene words, incest, sodomy, rapes, whoredom,

dom, fornication, and other uncleannesse (not to be repeated) all treasons, misprisions, murders, duels, felony, sedition, maims, forceable entries, and other violences, to the persons and estates of the inhabitants within this province; all prizes, stage-plays, cards, dice, Maygames, gamesters, masques, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, bear-baitings, and the like, which excite the people to rudeness, cruelty, looseness, and irreligion, shall be respectively discouraged, and severely punished, according to the appointment of the Governor and freemen in provincial Council and General Assembly; as also all proceedings contrary to these laws, that are not here made expressly penal.

XXXVIII. That a copy of these laws shall be hung up in the provincial Council, and in public courts of justice: and that they shall be read yearly at the opening of every provincial Council and General Assembly, and court of justice; and their assent shall be testified, by their standing up after the reading thereof.

XXXIX. That there shall be, at no time, any alteration of any of these laws, without the consent of the Governor, his heirs, or assigns, and six parts of seven of the freemen, met in provincial Council and General Assembly.

XL. That all other matters and things not herein provided for, which shall, and may, concern the public justice, peace or safety of the said province; and the raising and imposing taxes, customs, duties, or other charges whatsoever, shall be, and are, hereby referred to the order, prudence and determination of the Governor and freemen, in provincial Council and General Assembly, to be held, from time to time, in the said province.

Signed and sealed by the Governor and freemen aforesaid,
the fifth day of the third month, called *May*, one thousand
six hundred and eighty-two.

No. III.

The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories thereunto annexed, in America.
1683.

TO all persons, to whom these presents may come. 1683.
Whereas, king *Charles* the Second, by his letters patents, 2d mo. 2d.
under the great seal of *England*, bearing date the fourth
day of *March*, in the thirty and third year of the king,
for divers considerations therein mentioned, hath been
graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, *William*
Penn (by the name of *William Penn*, Esquire, son and
heir of *Sir William Penn*, deceased) and to my heirs and
assigns for ever, all that tract of land, or province,
called *Pennsylvania*, in *America*, with divers great powers,
preheminencies, royalties, jurisdictions and authorities,
necessary for the well-being and government thereof.
And, *whereas*, the king's dearest brother *James*, duke of
York and *Albany*, &c. by his deeds of feoffment, under
his hand and seal, duly perfected, bearing date the four
and twentieth day of *August*, one thousand six hundred
eighty and two, did grant unto me, my heirs and assigns,
all that tract of land, lying and being from twelve miles
northward of *Newcastle*, upon *Delaware* river, in *America*,
to *Cape Hinlopen*, upon the said river and bay of
Delaware southward, together with all royalties, fran-
chises, duties, jurisdictions, liberties and privileges there-
unto belonging.

Now know ye, That for the well-being and good go-
vernment of the said province and territories thereunto
annexed, and for the encouragement of all the freemen
and planters, that may be therein concerned, in pursu-
ance of the rights and powers aforementioned, I, the said
William Penn, have declared, granted, and confirmed,
and by these presents, for me, my heirs and assigns, do
declare, grant and confirm unto all the freemen, plant-
ers and adventurers of, in and to the said province and
territories thereof, these liberties, franchises and proper-
ties, so far as in me lieth, to be held, enjoyed and kept
by the freemen, planters and adventurers of and in the
said

saïd province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto annexed, for ever.

Number of
Council and
Assembly. *Imprimis*, That the government of this province and territories thereof, shall, from time to time, according to the powers of the patent and deeds of feoffment afore-said, consist of the Proprietary and Governor, and freemen of the saïd province and territories thereof, in form of provincial Council and General Assembly; which provincial Council shall consist of eighteen persons, being three out of each county, and which Assembly shall consist of thirty-six persons, being six out of each county, men of most note for their virtue, wisdom and ability; by whom all laws shall be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted, as is hereafter limited and declared.

Elections
regulated. II. There being three persons already chosen for every respective county of this province and territories thereof, to serve in the provincial Council, one of them for three years; one for two years, and one for one year; and one of them to go off yearly, in every county; that on the tenth day of the first month yearly, for ever after, the freemen of the saïd province and territories thereof, shall meet together, in the most convenient place, in every county of this province and territories thereof, then and there to chuse one person, qualified as afore-said, in every county, being one-third of the number to serve in provincial Council, for three years; it being intended, that one-third of the whole provincial Council, consisting and to consist of eighteen persons, falling off yearly, it shall be yearly supplied with such yearly elections, as aforesaid; and that one person shall not continue in longer than three years; and in case any member shall decease before the last election, during his time, that then, at the next election ensuing his decease, another shall be chosen to supply his place for the remaining time he was to have served, and no longer.

Rotation. III. That, after the first seven years, every one of the saïd third parts, that goeth yearly off, shall be incapable of being chosen again for one whole year following, that so all that are capable and qualified, as aforesaid, may be fitted for government, and have a share of the care and burden of it.

IV. That

IV. That the provincial Council in all cases and matters of moment, as their arguing upon bills to be passed into laws, or proceedings about erecting of courts of justice, sitting in judgment upon criminals impeached, and choice of officers, in such manner as is herein after expressed, not less than two-thirds of the whole shall make a *quorum*; and that the consent and approbation of two-thirds of that quorum shall be had in all such cases, or matters, of moment: and that, in all cases and matters of lesser moment, one-third of the whole shall make a *quorum*, the majority of which shall and may always determine in such cases and causes of lesser moment.

Quorum
settled.

V. That the Governor and provincial Council shall have the power of preparing and proposing to the Assembly, hereafter mentioned, all bills, which they shall see needful, and that shall, at any time, be past into laws, within the said province and territories thereof, which bills shall be published and affixed to the most noted place, in every county of this province and territories thereof, twenty days before the meeting of the Assembly, in order to passing them into laws.

Bills to be
prepared,
&c.

VI. That the Governor and provincial Council shall take care that all laws, statutes and ordinances, which shall, at any time, be made within the said province and territories, be duly and diligently executed.

Executive
power in
Governor
and Coun-
cil.

VII. That the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all times, have the care of the peace and safety of this province and territories thereof; and that nothing be, by any person, attempted, to the subversion of this frame of government.

Care of the
public safe-
ty, &c.

VIII. That the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all times, settle and order the situation of all cities, and market towns, in every county, modelling therein all public buildings, streets and market places; and shall appoint all necessary roads and highways, in this province and territories thereof.

Appointing
of towns
and roads,
&c.

IX. That the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all times, have power to inspect the management of the public treasury, and punish those who shall convert any part thereof to any other use, than what hath been agreed upon by the Governor, provincial Council and Assembly.

Inspecting
the Treas-
ury.

X. That

Erecting of
schools.

X. That the Governor and provincial Council shall erect and order all public schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said province and territories thereof.

One-third
of the
Council
with the
Governor,
&c.

XI. That one-third part of the provincial Council, residing with the Governor, from time to time, shall with the Governor have the care of the management of public affairs, relating to the peace, justice, treasury and improvement of the province and territories, and to the good education of youth, and sobriety of the manners of the inhabitants therein, as aforesaid.

Restriction
of the Go-
vernor's
power, &c.

XII. That the Governor, or his Deputy, shall always preside in the provincial Council, and that he shall, at no time, therein perform any public act of state whatsoever, that shall, or may, relate unto the justice, trade, treasury, or safety of the province and territories aforesaid, but by and with the advice and consent of the provincial Council thereof.

Elections
regulated,
&c.

XIII. And to the end that all bills prepared and agreed by the Governor and provincial Council, as aforesaid, may yet have the more full concurrence of the freemen of the province and territories thereof, it is declared, granted and confirmed, that, at the time and place in every county for the choice of one person to serve in provincial Council, as aforesaid, the respective Members thereof, at their said meeting, shall yearly chuse out of themselves six persons of most note, for virtue, wisdom and ability, to serve in Assembly, as their representatives, who shall yearly meet on the tenth day of the third month, in the capital town or city of the said province, unless the Governor and provincial Council shall think fit to appoint another place to meet in, where, during eight days, the several Members may confer freely with one another; and if any of them see meet, with a committee of the provincial Council, which shall be, at that time, purposely appointed, to receive from any of them proposals for the alterations, or amendments, of any of the said proposed and promulgated bills; and, on the ninth day from their so meeting, the said Assembly, after their reading over the proposed bills, by the Clerk of the provincial Council, and the occasions and motives for them being opened by the Governor or his Deputy, shall, upon the question by him put, give
their

their affirmative or negative, which to them seemeth best, in such manner as is hereafter expressed: but not less than two thirds shall make a *quorum* in the passing of all bills into laws, and choice of such officers as are by them to be chosen.

XIV. That the laws so prepared and proposed, as afore-
said, that are assented to by the Assembly, shall be enrolled
as laws of this province and territories thereof, with
this stile, *By the Governor, with the assent and approbation
of the freemen in provincial Council and Assembly met*, and
from henceforth the meetings, sessions, acts, and pro-
ceedings of the Governor, provincial Council and As-
sembly, shall be stiled and called, *The meeting, sessions
and proceedings of the General Assembly of the province of
Pennsylvania, and the territories thereunto belonging.*

Stile of the
laws.

XV. And that the representatives of the people in
provincial Council and Assembly, may, in after ages,
bear some proportion with the increase and multiplying
of the people, the number of such representatives of
the people may be, from time to time, increased and en-
larged, so as at no time, the number exceed seventy-two
for the provincial Council, and two hundred for the As-
sembly; the appointment and proportion of which num-
ber, as also the laying and methodizing of the choice of
such representatives in future time, most equally to the
division of the country, or number of the inhabitants,
is left to the Governor and provincial Council to propose,
and the Assembly to resolve, so that the order of pro-
portion be strictly observed, both in the choice of the
Council and the respective committees thereof, *viz.* one
third to go off, and come in yearly.

Number of
Represent-
atives to be
altered, &c.

XVI. That from and after the death of this present
Governor, the provincial Council shall, together with
the succeeding Governor, erect, from time, to time,
standing courts of justice, in such places and number as
they shall judge convenient for the good government of
the said province and territories thereof; and that the
provincial Council shall, on the thirteenth day of the se-
cond month then next ensuing, elect and present to the
Governor, or his Deputy, a double number of persons,
to serve for Judges, Treasurers, and Masters of the Rolls,
within the said province and territories, to continue so
long as they shall well behave themselves, in those capa-
cities

Courts of
justice, &c.

cities respectively; and the freemen of the said province, in an Assembly met on the thirteenth day of the third month, yearly, shall elect and then present to the Governor, or his Deputy, a double number of persons to serve for Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Coroners, for the year next ensuing; out of which respective elections and presentments, the Governor, or his Deputy, shall nominate and commissionate the proper number for each office, the third day after the said respective presentments; or else the first named in such presentment, for each office, as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that office, the time before respectively limited; and in case of death or default, such vacancy shall be supplied by the Governor and provincial Council in manner aforesaid.

Continu-
ance of the
Assembly.

XVII. That the Assembly shall continue so long as may be needful to impeach criminals, fit to be there impeached, to pass such bills into laws as are proposed to them, which they shall think fit to pass into laws, and till such time as the Governor and provincial Council shall declare, that they have nothing further to propose unto them, for their assent and approbation, and that declaration shall be a dismiss to the Assembly, for that time; which Assembly shall be, notwithstanding, capable of assembling together, upon the summons of the Governor and provincial Council, at any time, during that year, if the Governor and provincial Council shall see occasion for their so assembling.

Manner of
voting, &c.

XVIII. That all the elections of members, or representatives of the people to serve in provincial Council and Assembly, and all questions to be determined by both, or either of them, that relate to choice of officers, and all, or any other personal matters, shall be resolved or determined by the *ballot*, and all things relating to the preparing and passing of bills into laws, shall be openly declared and resolved by the vote.

Guardians
to be ap-
pointed by
the Council,
&c.

XIX. That, at all times, when the Proprietary and Governor shall happen to be an infant, and under the age of one and twenty years, and no guardians or commissioners are appointed in writing, by the father of the said infant, or that such guardian shall be deceased, that during such minority, the provincial Council shall, from time to time, as they shall see meet, constitute and appoint guardians and commissioners, not exceeding three,
one

one of which shall preside as deputy, and chief guardian, during such minority, and shall have and execute, with the consent of one of the other two, all the power of a Governor, in all public affairs and concerns of the said province and territories thereof, according to charter; which said guardian so appointed, shall also have the care and oversight of the estate of the said minor, and be yearly accountable and responsible for the same to the provincial Council, and the provincial Council to the minor, when of age, or to the next heir, in case of the minor's death, for the trust before expressed.

XX. That as often as any days of the month mentioned in any article of this charter, shall fall upon the first day of the week, commonly called the *Lord's* day, the business appointed for that day, shall be deferred until the next day, unless in cases of emergency.

Public business not to be done on the Lord's day, &c.

XXI. And, for the satisfaction and encouragement of all aliens, I do give and grant, that, if any alien, who is, or shall be a purchaser, or who doth, or shall, inhabit in this province or territories thereof, shall decease at any time before he can well be naturalized, his right and interest therein shall notwithstanding descend to his wife and children, or other his relations, be he testate, or intestate, according to the laws of this province and territories thereof, in such cases provided, in as free and ample manner, to all intents and purposes, as if the said alien had been naturalized.

Aliens' estates to descend to their heirs, &c.

XXII. And that the inhabitants of this province and territories thereof may be accommodated with such food and sustenance, as God, in his providence, hath freely afforded, I do also further grant to the inhabitants of this province and territories thereof, liberty to fowl and hunt upon the lands they hold, and all other lands therein not inclosed; and to fish, in all waters in the said lands, and in all rivers and rivulets in, and belonging to, this province and territories thereof, with liberty to draw his or their fish on shore on any man's lands, so as it be not to the detriment, or annoyance of the owner thereof, except such lands as do lie upon inland rivulets that are not boatable, or which are, or may be hereafter erected into manors.

Privilege of hunting, &c.

XXIII. And that all the inhabitants of this province and territories thereof, whether purchasers or others,

Quiet possession granted, may &c.

may have the last worldly pledge of my good and kind intentions to them and theirs, I do give, grant and confirm to all and every one of them, full and quiet possession of their respective lands, to which they have any lawful or equitable claim, saving only such rents and services for the same, as are, or customarily ought to be, reserved to me, my heirs or assigns.

Charter
how altera-
ble, &c.

XXIV. That no act, law, or ordinance whatsoever, shall, at any time hereafter, be made or done by the Proprietary and Governor of this province, and territories thereunto belonging, his heirs or assigns, or by the freemen in provincial Council or Assembly, to alter, change or diminish the form or effect of this charter, or any part or clause thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the consent of the Proprietary and Governor, his heirs or assigns, and six parts of seven of the said freemen in provincial Council and Assembly met.

Confirma-
tion.

XXV. And lastly, I, the said *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, and territories thereunto belonging, for me, my heirs and assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, that neither I, my heirs nor assigns, shall procure, or do, any thing or things, whereby the liberties, in this charter contained and expressed, shall be infringed or broken: and if any thing be procured, by any person or persons, contrary to these premises, it shall be held of no force or effect. In witness whereof, I, the said *William Penn*, at *Philadelphia*, in *Pennsylvania*, have unto this present charter of liberties set my hand and broad seal, this second day of the second month, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty and three, being the five and thirtieth year of the king, and the third year of my government.

WILLIAM PENN.

This within *charter*, which we have distinctly heard read and thankfully received, shall be by us inviolably kept, at *Philadelphia*, the second day of the second month, one thousand six hundred eighty and three.

The Members of the provincial Council present,

William Markham,
John Moll,

William Clark,
William Biles,

William

William Haige,
Christopher Taylor,
John Simcock,
William Clayton,
Francis Whittwel,
Thomas Holme,

James Harrison,
John Richardson,
Philip Thomas Lenmar,
Secr. Gov.
Richard Ingelo, *Cl. Coun.*

The Members of the Assembly present,

Casparus Harman,
John Darby,
Benjamin Williams,
William Guest,
Valentine Hollingsworth,
James Boyden,
Bennony Bishop,
John Beazor,
John Harding,
Andrews Bringston,
Simon Irons,
John Wood,
John Curtis,
Daniel Brown,
William Fitcher,
John Kipshaven,
Alexander Molestine,
Robert Bracy, senior,
Thomas Bracy,
William Yardly,
John Hastings,
Robert Wade,

Thomas Haffald,
John Hart,
Robert Hall,
Robert Bedwell,
William Simsmore,
Samuel Darke,
Robert Lucas,
James Williams,
John Blunston,
John Songhurst,
John Hill,
Nicholas Waln,
Thomas Fitzwater,
John Clows,
Luke Watson,
Joseph Phipps,
Dennis Rotchford,
John Brinklair,
Henry Bowman,
Cornelius Verhoofe,
John Southworth, *Cl. Synod.*

Some of the inhabitants of Philadelphia present,

William Howell,
Edmund Warner,

Henry Lewis,
Samuel Miles.

No. IV.

*The Frame of Government of the Province of Pennsylvania,
and the territories thereunto belonging, passed by Governor
Markham, November 7, 1696.*

1696.
9th mo. 7th. **W**HEREAS the late king Charles the Second, in the three and thirtieth year of his reign, by letters patent under the great seal of *England*, did, for the considerations therein mentioned, grant unto *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, for ever, this colony, or tract of land, thereby erecting the same into a province, called *Pennsylvania*, and constituting him, the said *William Penn*, absolute Proprietary thereof, vesting him, his Deputies and Lieutenants, with divers great powers, pre-eminences, royalties, jurisdictions and authorities, necessary for the well-being and good government of the said province. And whereas the late duke of *York* and *Albany*, &c. for valuable considerations, did grant unto the said *William Penn*, his heirs and assigns, all that tract of land which hath been cast, or divided into three counties, now called *Newcastle*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, together with all royalties, franchises, duties, jurisdictions, liberties and privileges thereunto belonging; which last mentioned tract being intended as a beneficial and requisite addition to the territory of the said Proprietary, he, the said Proprietary and Governor, at the request of the freemen of the said three counties, by their deputies, in Assembly met, with the representatives of the freemen of the said province at *Chester*, alias *Upland*, on the sixth day of the tenth month, 1682, did (with the advice and consent of the Members of the said Assembly) enact, that the said three counties should be annexed to the province of *Pennsylvania*, as the proper territories thereof; and whereas king *William* and the late queen *Mary*, over *England*, &c. by their letters patent and commission, under the great seal of *England*, dated the twenty-first day of October, in the fourth year of their reign, having, (for the reasons therein mentioned) taken the government of this said province and territories into their hands, and under their care and protection, did think fit to constitute

tute *Benjamin Fletcher*, Governor of New York, to be their Captain General, and Governor in Chief, over this province and country. And whereas also the said king and queen afterwards, by their letters patent, under the great seal of *England*, dated the twentieth day of August, in the sixth year of their reign, have thought fit, upon the humble application of the said *William Penn*, to restore them to the administration of the government of the said province and territories; and that so much of their said commission as did constitute the said *Benjamin Fletcher*, their Captain General and Governor in Chief of the said province of *Pennsylvania*, country of *Newcastle*, and the territories and tracts of land depending thereupon, in *America*, together with all the powers and authorities thereby granted for the ruling and governing their said province and country, should, from the publication of the said last recited letters patent, cease, determine and become void; and accordingly the same are hereby declared void; whereupon the said *William Penn* did commissionate his kinsman, *William Markham*, Governor under him, with directions to act according to the known laws and usages of this government.

Now forasmuch as the former frame of government, modelled by act of settlement, and charter of liberties, is not deemed, in all respects, suitably accommodated to our present circumstances, therefore it is unanimously desired that it may be enacted, And be it enacted by the Governor aforesaid, with the advice and consent of the representatives of the freemen of the said province and territories, in Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that this government shall, from time to time, consist of the Governor, or his Deputy, or Deputies, and the freemen of the said province, and territories thereof, in form of a Council and Assembly; which Council and Assembly shall be men of most note for virtue, wisdom and ability; and shall, from and after the tenth day of the first month next, consist of two persons out of each of the counties of this government, to serve as the people's representatives in Council; and of four persons out of each of the said counties, to serve as their representatives in Assembly; for the electing of which representatives, it shall and may be lawful to and for all the freemen of this province and territories aforesaid, to meet together on the tenth day of the first month
yearly

Elections
appointed.

yearly hereafter, in the most convenient and usual place for election, within the respective counties, then and there to chuse their said representatives as aforesaid, who shall meet on the tenth day of the third month yearly, in the capital town of the said province, unless the Governor and Council shall think fit to appoint another place.

Qualifica-
tion of
electors.

And, to the end it may be known who those are, in this province and territories, who ought to have right of, or to be deemed freemen, to chuse, or be chosen, to serve in Council and Assembly, as aforesaid, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no inhabitant of this province or territories, shall have right of electing, or being elected as aforesaid, unless they be free denizens of this government, and are of the age of twenty-one years, or upwards, and have fifty acres of land, ten acres whereof being seated and cleared, or be otherwise worth *fifty pounds*, lawful money of this government, clear estate, and have been resident within this government for the space of two years next before such election.

Solemn af-
firmation
instead of
an oath.

And whereas divers persons within this government, cannot, for conscience sake, take an oath, upon any account whatsoever, Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every such person and persons, being, at any time hereafter, required, upon any lawful occasion, to give evidence, or take an oath, in any case whatsoever, shall, instead of swearing, be permitted to make his, or their solemn affirmation, attest, or declaration, which shall be adjudged, and is hereby enacted and declared to be of the same force and effect, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as if they had taken an oath; and in case any such person or persons shall be lawfully convicted of having wilfully and corruptly affirmed, or declared any matter or thing, upon such solemn affirmation or attest, shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures, as by the laws and statutes of *England* are provided against persons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury.

Declaration
of officers,
&c.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all persons who shall be hereafter either elected to serve in Council and Assembly, or commissioned or appointed to be Judges, Justices, Masters of the Rolls, Sheriffs, Coroners, and all other officers of state and trust, within this government, who shall conscientiously
scruple

scruple to take an oath, but when lawfully required, will make and subscribe the declaration and profession of their Christian belief, according to the late act of parliament, made in the first year of king *William*, and the late queen *Mary*, entitled, An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the penalty of certain laws, shall be adjudged, and are hereby declared to be qualified to act in their said respective offices and places, and thereupon the several officers herein mentioned, shall, instead of an oath make their solemn affirmation or declaration in manner and form following; that is to say,

The form of Judges' and Justices' attest shall be in these words, *viz.*

Thou shalt solemnly promise, that as Judge, or Justice, according to the Governor's commission to thee directed, thou shalt do equal right to the poor and rich, to the best of thy knowledge and power, according to law, and after the usages and constitutions of this government; thou shalt not be of council of any matter or cause depending before thee, but shalt well and truly do thy office in every respect, according to the best of thy understanding.

Forms of
officers' at-
tests.

The form of the attests to be taken by the Masters of the Rolls, Secretaries, Clerks, and such like officers, shall be thus, *viz.*

Thou shalt well and faithfully execute the office of, &c. according to the best of thy skill and knowledge; taking such fees only, as thou oughtest to receive by the laws of this government.

The form of the Sheriffs' and Coroners' attest, shall be in these words, *viz.*

Thou shalt solemnly promise, that thou wilt well and truly serve the King and Governor in the office of the Sheriff (or Coroner) of the county of, &c. and preserve the King and Governor's rights, as far forth as thou canst, or mayest; thou shalt truly serve, and return, all the writs and precepts to thee directed; thou shalt take no bailiff, nor deputy, but such as thou wilt answer for; thou shalt receive no writs, except from such Judges and Justices, who, by the laws of this government, have authority to issue and direct writs unto thee; and thou shalt diligently and truly do and accomplish all things appertaining

appertaining to thy office, after the best of thy wit and power, both for the King and Governor's profit, and good of the inhabitants within the said county, taking such fees only as thou oughtest to take by the laws of this government, and not otherwise.

The form of a Constable's attest shall be this, *viz.*

Thou shalt solemnly promise, well and duly, according to the best of thy understanding, to execute the office of a Constable for the town (or county) of P. for this ensuing year, or until another be attested in thy room, or thou shalt be legally discharged thereof.

The form of the Grand Inquest's attests shall be in these words, *viz.*

Thou shalt diligently enquire, and true presentment make, of all such matters and things as shall be given thee in charge, or come to thy knowledge, touching this present service; the King's counsel, thy fellows, and thy own, thou shalt keep secret, and in all things thou shalt present the truth, and nothing but the truth, to the best of thy knowledge.

This being given to the Foreman, the rest of the Inquest shall be attested thus, by three at a time, *viz.*

The same attestation that your Foreman hath taken on his part, you will well and truly keep on your parts.

The form of the attest to be given to the Traverse Jury, by four at a time, shall be thus, *viz.*

You solemnly promise, that you will well and truly try the issue of traverse between the lord the King, and A. B. whom you have in charge, according to your evidence.

In civil causes thus, *viz.*

You solemnly promise that you will well and truly try the issue between A. B. plaintiff, and C. D. defendant, according to your evidence.

Provided always, and it is hereby intended, that no person shall be, by this act, excused from swearing, who, by the acts of parliament, for trade and navigation, are, or shall be required to take an oath.

Elections
regulated.

And, that elections may not be corruptly managed, on which the good of the government so much depends, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That
all

all elections of the said representatives shall be free and voluntary, and that the electors, who shall receive any reward, or gift, for giving his vote, shall forfeit his right to elect for that year; and such person or persons, as shall give, or promise, any such reward to be elected, or that shall offer to serve for nothing, or for less wages than the law prescribes, shall be thereby rendered incapable to serve in Council, or Assembly, for that year; and the representatives so chosen, either for Council or Assembly, shall yield their attendance accordingly, and be the sole judges of the regularity, or irregularity of the elections of their respective Members: and if any person, or persons, chosen to serve in Council, or Assembly, shall be wilfully absent from the service he or they are so chosen to attend, or be deceased, or rendered incapable, then, and in all such cases, it shall be lawful for the Governor, within ten days after knowledge of the same, to issue forth a writ to the Sheriff of the county, for which the said person, or persons, were chosen, immediately to summons the freemen of the same to elect another member in the room of such absent, deceased, or incapable person or persons; and in case any Sheriff shall misbehave himself, in the management of any of the said elections, he shall be punished accordingly, at the discretion of the Governor and Council, for the time being.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every member now chosen, or hereafter to be chosen, by the freemen as aforesaid, to serve in Council, and the Speaker of the Assembly, shall be allowed five shillings by the day, during his and their attendance; and every Member of Assembly shall be allowed four shillings by the day, during his attendance on the service of the Assembly; and that every Member of Council and Assembly shall be allowed towards their travelling charges after the rate of two pence each mile, both going to, and coming from, the place, where the Council and Assembly is, or shall be, held; all which sums shall be paid yearly out of the county levies, by the county receivers respectively.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor, or his Deputy, shall always preside in the Council, and that he shall, at no time, perform

Regulation
of Assem-
blymen's
wages, &c.

Governor
to preside
in Council

any public act of state whatsoever, that shall, or may relate unto the justice, treasury or trade of the province and territories, but by and with the advice and consent of the Council thereof, or major part of them that shall be present.

Officers to
give secu-
rity.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all the Sheriffs and Clerks of the respective counties of the said province, and territories, who are, or shall be, commissioned, shall give good and sufficient security to the Governor, for answering the king and his people, in matters relating to the said offices respectively.

Quorum
settled.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Council, in all cases and matters of moment, as about erecting courts of justice, sitting in judgment upon persons impeached, and upon bills and other matters, that may be, from time to time, presented by the Assembly, not less than two-thirds shall make a *quorum*; and that the consent and approbation of the majority of that quorum shall be had in all such cases and matters of moment; and that in cases of less moment, not less than one-third of the whole shall make a quorum; the majority of which shall, and may, always determine in all such matters of lesser moment, as are not above specified: and in case the Governor's power shall hereafter happen to be in the Council, a President shall then be chosen out of themselves by two-thirds, or the major part of them; which President shall therein preside.

Powers of
Governor
and Coun-
cil,

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor and Council shall take care that all the laws, statutes and ordinances, which shall at any time be made within the said province and territories, be duly and diligently executed.

In preserv-
ing the
peace,

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor and Council shall, at all times, have the care of the peace of this province and territories thereof, and that nothing be, by any persons, attempted to the subversion of this *frame of government*.

Concerning
towns,

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor and Council, for the time being, shall, at all times, settle and order the situation of all cities, and market towns, modelling therein all public buildings, streets and market places; and shall appoint all public landing places, of the towns of this province
and

and territories: and if any man's property shall be judged by the Governor and Council to be commodious for such landing place, in the said towns, and that the same be ^{Landings,} by them appointed as such, that the owner shall have such reasonable satisfaction given him for the same as the Governor and Council shall see meet, to be paid by the said respective towns.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor and Council shall, at all times, have power ^{Treasury.} to inspect the management of the public treasury, and punish those who shall convert any part thereof to any other use, than what hath been agreed upon by the Governor, Council and Assembly.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor and Council shall erect and order all public ^{Public} houses, and encourage and reward the authors of ^{houses, &c.} useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said province, and territories thereof.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Governor and Council shall, from time to time, have the care of the management of all public affairs, ^{Trade and education, &c.} relating to the peace, safety, justice, treasury, trade, and improvement of the province and territories, and to the good education of youth, and sobriety of the manners of the inhabitants therein, as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the representatives of the freemen, when met in ^{Power of} Assembly, shall have power to prepare and propose to the Governor and Council all such bills as they or the ^{the Assembly, &c.} major part of them, shall, at any time, see needful to be passed into laws, within the said province and territories.

Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall debar the Governor and Council from recommending to the Assembly all such bills as they shall think fit to be passed into laws; and that the Council and Assembly may, upon occasion, confer together in committees, when desired; all which proposed and prepared bills, or such of them, as the Governor, with the advice of the Council, shall, in open Assembly, declare his assent unto, shall be the laws of this province and territories thereof, and published accordingly, with this stile, *By the Govern- ^{Stile of the} or, with the assent and approbation of the freemen in General laws, &c.*
Assembly

Assembly met; a true transcript, or duplicate whereof, shall be transmitted to the king's privy council, for the time being, according to the said late king's letters patent.

Adjournments, &c.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the Assembly, shall sit upon their own adjournments, and committees, and continue, in order to prepare and propose bills, redress grievances, and impeach criminals, or such persons as they shall think fit to be there impeached, until the Governor and Council, for the time being, shall dismiss them; which Assembly shall, notwithstanding such dismiss, be capable of Assembling together upon summons of the Governor and Council, at any time during that year; two-thirds of which Assembly, in all cases, shall make a quorum.

Majority to determine.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all elections of representatives for Council and Assembly, and all questions to be determined by them, shall be by the major part of votes.

Lord's day.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That as oft as any days of the month, mentioned in any article of this act, shall fall upon the first day of the week, commonly called the Lord's day, the business appointed for that day, shall be deferred till the next day, unless in cases of emergency.

Alien lands to descend, &c.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any alien, who is, or shall be a purchaser of lands, or who doth, or shall inhabit in this province, or territories thereof, shall decease at any time before he can well be denized, his right and interest therein shall notwithstanding descend to his wife and children, or other, his relations, be he testate, or intestate, according to the laws of this province and territories thereof, in such cases provided, in as free and ample manner, to all intents and purposes, as if the said alien had been denized.

Liberty to fish, hunt, &c.

And that the people may be accommodated with such food and sustenance as God, in his providence, hath freely afforded, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the inhabitants of this province and territories thereof, shall have liberty to fish and hunt, upon the lands they hold, or all other lands therein, not inclosed, and to fish in all waters in the said lands, and in all rivers and rivulets

lets, in and belonging to this province and territories thereof, with liberty to draw his, or their fish upon any man's land, so as it be not to the detriment or annoyance of the owner thereof, except such lands as do lie upon inland rivulets, that are not boatable, or which hereafter may be erected into manors.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all inhabitants of this province and territories, whether purchasers, or others, and every one of them, shall have full and quiet enjoyment of their respective lands and tenements, to which they have any lawful or equitable claim, saving only such rents and services for the same, as are, or customarily ought to be, reserved to the lord, or lords of the fee thereof, respectively.

Possession
quieted.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no act, law, or ordinance whatsoever, shall, at any time hereafter, be made or done, by the Governor of this province, and territories thereunto belonging, or by the freemen, in Council, or Assembly, to alter, change or diminish the form and effect of this act, or any part, or clause thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, without the consent of the Governor, for the time being, and six parts of seven of the said freemen, in Council, and Assembly met. This act to continue, and be in force, until the said Proprietary shall signify his pleasure to the contrary, by some instrument, under his hand and seal, in that behalf.

This act not
to be alter-
ed, unless,
&c.

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, That neither this act, nor any other act, or acts whatsoever, shall preclude, or debar the inhabitants of this province and territories, from claiming, having and enjoying any of the rights, privileges and immunities, which the said Proprietary, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, did formerly grant, or which of right belong unto them, the said inhabitants, by virtue of any law, charter or grants whatsoever, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Former pri-
vileges re-
served.

No. V.

*The Address of the Assembly to the Proprietary, concerning property,
September 20, 1701.*

May it please the Governor,

WE, the representatives of the freemen of the province and territories, in Assembly met, having taken into serious consideration some articles concerning our privileges in property, incited by an address to this house from the inhabitants of this place, and encouraged by thyself, in setting forth thy care of us, and promises of compliance therewith, do humbly offer the following heads for confirmation, requesting they may be granted the people of the province and territories, and ascertained to them in a charter.

I. *Imprimis*, That, in case the Proprietary go for *England*, due care be taken that he be represented here by persons of integrity, and considerable known estates, who may have full power and authority, not only to grant and confirm lands, &c. as if he were personally present, but also to make satisfaction to those who have short, as well as receive what may be due from those who have too much over measure, according to former agreement.

II. That before the Proprietary go for *England*, he grant us such an instrument as may absolutely secure and defend us in our estates and properties, from himself, his heirs and assigns, for ever, or any claiming under him, them, or any of them, as also to clear all *Indian* purchases and others.

III. That, whereas there hath been great delay in the confirmation of land, and granting of patents, due care may be taken by the Proprietary, that no such delays may be for the future; and that the ten acres in the hundred may be allowed, according to the Proprietary's engagements.

IV. That no Surveyor, Secretary, or any other officer under the Proprietary, presume to exact or take any fees, but what were, are, or shall be allowed by the laws of this province, under severe penalties.

V. That no person, or persons, shall, or may, at any time hereafter, be liable to answer any complaint, matter or thing whatsoever, relating to property, before the Governor, or his Council, or in any other place, but in the ordinary courts of justice.

VI. That

VI. That the ancient records made before the Proprietary's first arrival here, be lodged in such hands as the Assembly shall judge to be most fit.

VII. That a patent office, and all actual Surveyors thereby employed, may be modelled according to the law of *Jamaica*, and such security taken, as may render the people's interest safe.

VIII. That, whereas the Proprietary formerly gave the purchasers an expectation of a certain tract of land, which is since laid out, about two miles long, and one mile broad, whereon to build the town of *Philadelphia*, and that the same should be a free gift; which since has been clogged with divers rents and reservations contrary to the first design and grant, and to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants: we desire the Governor to take it into consideration, and make them easy therein.

IX. That the land, lying back of that part of the town already built, remain for common, and that no leases for the future, to make inclosures to the damage of the public, until such time as the respective owners shall be ready to build or improve thereon; and that the islands and flats near the town, be left to the inhabitants of this town to get their winter fodder.

X. That the streets of the town be regulated and bounded, and that the ends of the streets on *Delaware* and *Sculkil* be unlimited, and left free to be extended on the river as the inhabitants shall see meet; and that public landing places at the *Blue Anchor* and *Penny Pot* house be confirmed free to the inhabitants of this town, not infringing any man's property.

XI. That the Justices may have the licensing and regulating ordinaries and drinking houses, as in *England*, and as by thy letter, dated November 5, 1697, did order.

XII. That the letters of feoffment for the soil of the three lower counties, from the Duke of *York*, be recorded in the territories.

XIII. That all lands, in the said counties not yet taken up, may be disposed of at the old rent, of a bushel of wheat a hundred.

XIV. That the thousand acres of land, formerly promised by the Governor to the town of *Newcastle*, for common, be laid out and patented for that use.

XV. That the bank lots at *Newcastle* be granted to those that have the front lots, to low-water mark; or so far as they may improve, at a bushel of wheat a lot.

XVI. That

XVI. That all the bay marshes be laid out for common, except such as are already granted.

XVII. That all patents hereafter to be granted to the territories, be on the same conditions, as the warrants or grants were obtained.

XVIII. That the division lines between the counties of *Newcastle* and *Chester* be ascertained, allowing the bounds according to the Proprietary's letters patent from the king.

XIX. That the twenty-second article in the old charter, concerning fishing and fowling, be confirmed.

XX. That the inhabitants or possessors of land may have liberty to purchase off their quit-rents, as formerly promised.

XXI. That the bill of property passed at *Newcastle*, 1700, be inserted in the charter, with such amendments as shall be agreed on.

Signed by order of the House,

JOSEPH GROWDON, *Speaker.*

The answer of the Proprietary and Governor to the preceding address of the Assembly, head by head.

To the first I shall appoint those, in whom I can confide, whose powers shall be sufficient and public for the security of all concerned; and I hope they shall be of honest character, without just exception, to do that which is right between you and me.

II. Much of it is included in my answer to the first; however, I am willing to execute a public instrument, or charter to secure you in your properties, according to purchase, and the law of property made lately at *Newcastle*, excepting some corrections, or amendments, absolutely necessary, therein.

III. I know of no wilful delays, and shall use my endeavours to prevent any for the future, and am very willing to allow the ten acres per cent. for the ends proposed by the law, and not otherwise.

IV. I am willing that reasonable fees to officers shall be ascertained by law, or their services left to a *quantum meruit*; for I hope you do not think they should be maintained at my charge.

V. I know of no person, that has been obliged to answer before the Governor and Council, in such cases; but I conceive that disputes about unconfined properties must lie before the Proprietary, though not before his Council, as judges.

VI. The records concern me, as well as the people, and are, or shall be, in the hands of men of good fame, and to keep them only during good behaviour; but those of this county of *Philadelphia*,

delphia, that chiefly concern the people, are in so great disorder, by razures, blots and interlineations, that you would do well to use some method in time, for their rectification.

VII. If the *Jamaica* law will improve our regulation, as it doth augment the fees, I am content we copy after it.

VIII. You are under a mistake, in fact; I have tied you to nothing, in the allotment of the city, which the first purchasers, then present, did not readily seem to comply with, and I am sorry to find their names to such an address, as that presented to you, who have got double lots, by my re-aplotment of the city, from fifty to one hundred and two feet front lots; and if they are willing to refund the fifty-two feet; I shall, as you desire, be easy in the quit-rents, although this matter solely refers to the first purchasers, and to me as Proprietary.

IX. You are under a misapprehension, to think that a fourth part of the land, laid out for a city, belongs to any body but myself, it being reserved for such as were not first purchasers, who might want to build in future time; and when I reflect upon the great abuse, done in my absence, by destroying of my timber and wood, and how the land is over-run with brush, to the injury and discredit of the town, it is small encouragement to grant your request; however, I am content that some land be laid out for the accommodation of the town, till inhabitants present to settle it under regulations that shall be thought most conducing to the end desired, about which, I shall consult with those persons chiefly concerned therein; and for the rest of the ninth article, about the islands, I know not which you mean, nor on what terms desired, it being an independant property from the town, if not from the province.

X. About the ends of streets, and other public landings of this town, I am willing to grant the ends of streets, when and where improved, and the other according to your request.

XI. I am contented that no licences be granted to any ordinary keepers, but such as the Justices shall recommend, nor suffer them longer, than the Magistrates find they behave well.

XII. I do not understand it; for I had no letters of feoffment, but deeds, which were recorded by *Ephraim Harman*, at *Newcastle*, and by *John West*, to the best of my memory, at *New York*, and since confirmed by the order of Council, for the line, as well as otherwise, and a most formal possession and obedience given me in pursuance thereof.

XIII. I think this an unreasonable article, either to limit me in that which is my own, or to deprive me of the benefit of raising in proportion to the advantage, which time gives to other men's properties; and the rather, because I am yet in disburse for that long and expensive controversy with the Lord *Baltimore*, promised to be defrayed by the public, as appears by the minutes of Council.

XIV. I allow it, according to what I lately expressed at *Newcastle*, and it is not my fault it has not been done sooner.

XV. According to their own proposals, at *Newcastle*, I shall gratify their desire, viz. that the same revert to me, after a certain time, if not improved.

XVI. This I take for a high imposition; however, I am willing that they all lye in common and free, until otherwise disposed of, and shall grant the same from time to time, in reasonable portions, and upon reasonable terms, especially to such as shall engage to drain and improve the same; having always a regard to back inhabitants, for their accommodations.

XVII. I cannot well understand it; therefore it must be explained.

XVIII. It is my own inclination, and I desire and expect the representatives of *Newcastle* and Chester forthwith, or before they leave the town, to attend me about the time and method of doing it.

XIX. They shall have liberty to fish, fowl and hunt, upon their own lands, and upon all other lands that are mine untaken up.

XX. If it should be my lot to lose a public support, I must depend upon my rents for a supply; and therefore must not easily part with them; and many years are elapsed since I made that offer, that was not excepted.

XXI. I agree that the law of property, made at *Newcastle*, shall be inserted in the charter, with requisite amendments.

No. VI.

The Charter of the City of Philadelphia.

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the province of *Pennsylvania*, &c. to all, to whom these presents shall come, sends greeting. 1701.
Octbr. 25.

Know ye, That at the humble request of the inhabitants and settlers of this town of Philadelphia, being some of the first adventurers and purchasers within this province, for their encouragement, and for the more immediate and entire government of the said town, and better regulation of trade therein, I have, by virtue of the King's letters patents, under the great seal of *England*, erected the said town into a borough, and by these presents do erect the said town and borough of *Philadelphia* into a city, which said city shall extend the limits and bounds, as it is laid out between *Delaware* and *Schuylkill*, Philadelphia incorporated at the request of the inhabitants.

Bounds.

And I do, for me, my heirs and assigns, grant and ordain, that the streets of the said city shall for ever continue, as they are now laid out and regulated; and that the end of each street, extending into the river *Delaware*, shall be and continue free for the use and service of the said city, and the inhabitants thereof; who may improve the same for the best advantage of the city, and build wharves so far out into the river there, as the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, herein after mentioned, shall see meet. Streets to continue as laid out before, &c.

And I do nominate *Edward Shippen*, to be the present Mayor, who shall so continue until another be chosen, as is herein after directed. First Mayor.
or,

And I do hereby assign and name *Thomas Story*, to be the present Recorder, to do and execute all things, which unto the office of Recorder of the said city doth or may belong. Recorder.

And I do appoint *Thomas Farmer* to be the present Sheriff and *Robert Ashton* to be the present Town-clerk and Clerk of the peace, and Clerk of the court and courts. Sheriff and Clerk.

And

Aldermen.

And I do hereby name, constitute and appoint *Joshua Carpenter, Griffith Jones, Anthony Morris, Joseph Wilcox, Nathan Stanbury, Charles Read, Thomas Masters, and William Carter*, citizens and inhabitants of the said city, to be the present Aldermen of the said city of *Philadelphia*.

Common Council-men.

And I do also nominate and appoint *John Parsons, William Hudson, William Lee, Nehemiah Allen, Thomas Paschall, John Budd, junr. Edward Smout, Samuel Buckley, James Atkinson, Pentecost Teague, Francis Cook, and Henry Badcocke*, to be the twelve present Common Council-men of the said city.

Incorporating clause.

And I do by these presents, for me, my heirs and successors, give, grant and declare, that the said Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council-men, for the time being, and they, which hereafter shall be Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council-men, within the said city, and their successors for ever hereafter be, and shall be, by virtue of these presents, one body corporate and politic in deed, and by the name of the Mayor and Commonalty of the city of *Philadelphia*, in the province of *Pennsylvania*: and them by the name of Mayor and Commonalty of the city of *Philadelphia*, one body politic and corporate in deed and in name, I do, for me, my heirs and successors, fully create, constitute and confirm, by these presents; and that by the name of Mayor and Commonalty of the city of *Philadelphia*, be, and at all times hereafter shall be, persons able and capable, in law, to have, get, receive and possess lands and tenements, rents, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments, to them and their successors, in fee simple, or for term of life, lives, years, or otherwise; and also goods, chattels, and other things of what nature, kind or quality soever.

Power to hold lands, &c.

And to sell and dispose of the same &c.

And also to give, grant, lett, sell, and assign the same lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, and to do and execute all other things about the same, by the name aforesaid; and also that they be, and shall be for ever hereafter persons able and capable in law, to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all or any the courts and other places, and before any Judges, Justices and other persons whatsoever within the said province, in all manner of actions, suits, complaints, pleas, causes,

causes, and matters whatsoever, and of what nature or kind soever.

And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Mayor and Commonalty of the said city of *Philadelphia*, and their successors, for ever hereafter, to have and use one common seal, for the sealing of all businesses touching the said corporation, and the same, from time to time, at their will and pleasure to change or alter.

Seal.

And I do, for me, my heirs and successors, give, and by these presents, grant full power and authority unto the Mayor, Recorder and Common Council of the said city of *Philadelphia*, or any five or more of the Aldermen, and nine or more of the Common Council-men, the Mayor and Recorder for the time being, or either of them being present, on the first third day of the week, in the eighth month yearly for ever hereafter, publicly to meet at a convenient room or place within the said city, to be by them appointed for that purpose, and then and there nominate, elect and chuse one of the Aldermen to be Mayor for that ensuing year.

Power of
chusing a
Mayor
yearly.

And also to add to the number of Aldermen and Common Council-men, such and so many of those, that by virtue of these presents shall be admitted freemen of the said city, from time to time, as they the said Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council shall see occasion.

And of
adding to
their num-
ber, &c.

And that such person, who shall be elected Mayor, as aforesaid, shall within three days next after such election, be presented before the Governor of this province or his Deputy for the time being, and there shall subscribe the declarations and profession of his Christian belief, according to the late act of parliament made in the first year of king William's reign, intituled, "An act for exempting their majesties' subjects, dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the penalty of certain laws;" and then and there the Mayor so presented, shall make his solemn affirmation and engagement for the due execution of his office.

Mayor to
be qualified
before the
Governor.

And that the Recorder, Sheriff, Aldermen, and Common Council-men, and all other officers of the said city, before they, or any of them shall be admitted to execute their respective offices, shall make and subscribe the said declarations and profession aforesaid, before the Mayor for the time being, and at the same time, shall be attested for

Recorder,
&c. quali-
fied before
the Mayor.

for the due execution of their offices respectively; which declarations, promises and attestations, the Mayor of the said city for the time being, is hereby empowered to take and administer accordingly.

Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, to be Justices, &c.

And that the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the said city, for the time being, shall be Justices of the Peace, and Justices of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; and are hereby impowered to act within the said city and liberties thereof accordingly, as fully and amply as any Justice or Justices of the Peace, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, can or may do, within the said province.

To have power to hear and enquire into all crimes, &c.

And that they, or any four or more of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder of the said city, for the time being, shall be two) shall and may for ever hereafter have power and authority, by virtue of these presents, to hear and enquire into all, and all manner of, treasons, murders, manslaughter, and all manner of felonies and other crimes and offences, capital and criminal, whatsoever, according to the laws of this province, and of the kingdom of *England*, with power also to hear and determine all petty larcenies, routs, riots, unlawful assemblies; and to try and punish all persons that shall be convicted for drunkenness, swearing, scolding, breaking the peace, or such like offences, which are by the laws of this province to be punished by fine, imprisonment or whipping; with power also to award process against all rioters and breakers of the peace, and to bind them, and all other offenders, and persons of evil fame, to the peace or good behaviour, as any Justice or Justices of the Peace can do, without being accountable to me or my heirs, for any fines or amerciaments to be imposed for the said offences, or any of them.

To hold a court of record quarterly, &c.

And I do hereby impower them, or any four of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder, for the time being, shall be two) with the city Sheriff, and town Clerk, to hold and keep a court of record quarterly, or oftener, if they see occasion, for the enquiring, hearing and determining of the pleas and matters aforesaid; and upon their own view, or after a legal procedure in some of those courts, to cause all nuisances and encroachments in the streets of the said city to be removed, and punish the parties concerned, as the law and usage, in such cases, shall require.

And

And I do by these presents assign and appoint, that the present Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen herein before mentioned, be the present Justices of the Peace, and Oyer and Terminer, within the said city; and that they, and all others, that shall be Mayors, Recorders and Aldermen of the said city, for the time being, shall have full power and authority, and are hereby empowered and authorized, without any further or other commission, to be Justices of the Peace, and of Oyer and Terminer, within the said city for ever; and shall also be Justices of the Peace, and the Mayor and Recorder shall be of the quorum of the Justices of the County Courts, Quarter Sessions, Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery, in the said county of *Philadelphia*; and shall have full power to award process, bind to the peace or behaviour, or commit to prison, for any matter or cause arising without the said city, and within the body of the aforesaid county, as occasion shall require; and to cause calendars to be made of such prisoners, which, together with all recognizances, and examinations taken before them for or concerning any matter or cause not determinable by them, shall be duly returned to the Judges or Justices of the said county, in their respective courts, where the same shall be cognizable.

Mayor and Recorder to be of the quorum of the county courts, &c.

And that it may be lawful to and for the said Mayor and Commonalty, and their successors, when they see occasion, to erect a gaol or prison and court-house within the said city.

To erect a gaol and court-house &c.

And that the Mayor and Recorder, for the time being, shall have, and by these presents, have power to take recognizance of debts there according to the statute of merchants, and of action burnel; and to use and affix the common seal thereupon, and to all certificates concerning the same.

To take recognizance of debts, &c.

And that it shall be lawful to and for the Mayor of the said city, for the time being, for ever hereafter to nominate, and, from time to time, to appoint the Clerk of the market, who shall have assize of bread, wine, beer, wood and other things; and to do, execute, and perform all things belonging to the Clerk of the market within the said city.

And to appoint a Clk. of the Market.

And I will that the Coroners, to be chosen by the county of *Philadelphia* for the time being, shall be Coroners.

Of Coroners, &c.

ner of the said city and liberties thereof; but that the freemen and inhabitants of the said city shall, from time to time, as often as occasion may be, have equal liberty with the inhabitants of the said county, to recommend or chuse persons to serve in the respective capacities of Coroners and Sheriffs for the county of *Philadelphia*, who shall reside within the said city.

Water Bailiff, &c.

And that the Sheriff of the said city and county, for the time being, shall be the Water Bailiff, who shall, and may, execute and perform all things belonging to the office of Water Bailiff, upon *Delaware* river, and all other navigable rivers and creeks within the said province.

Power to remove the Mayor, &c.

And in case the Mayor of the said city, for the time being, shall, during the time of his mayoralty, misbehave himself, or misgovern in that office, I do hereby empower the Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council-men, or five of the Aldermen, and nine of the Common Council-men of the said city of *Philadelphia*, for the time being, to remove such Mayor from his office of mayoralty; and in such case, or in case of the death of the said Mayor, for the time being, that then another fit person shall, within four days next after such death or removal, be chosen in manner as above directed for electing of Mayors, in the place of him so dead or removed.

Eldest Alderman to act as Mayor, &c.

And lest there should be a failure of justice or government in the said city, in such interval, I do hereby appoint, that the eldest Alderman, for the time being, shall take upon him the office of a Mayor there, and shall exercise the same till another Mayor be chosen as aforesaid; and in case of the disability of such eldest Alderman, then the next in seniority, shall take upon him the said office of Mayor, to exercise the same as aforesaid.

Power to remove the Recorder, &c.

And in case the Recorder, or any of the Aldermen or Common Council-men of, or belonging to, the said city, for the time being, shall misbehave himself, or themselves in their respective offices and places, they shall be removed, and others chosen in their stead, in manner following, that is to say, the Recorder for the time being, may be removed (for his misbehaviour) by the Mayor and two-thirds of the Aldermen and Common Council-men respectively; and in case of such removal,

moval, or of the death of the Recorder, then to chuse another fit person, skilled in the law, to be the Recorder there, and so to continue during pleasure as aforesaid.

And the Alderman so misbehaving himself may be removed by the Mayor, Recorder and nine of the Aldermen and Common Council-men; and in case of such removal, or death, then within four days after, to chuse a fit person or persons to supply such vacancies; and the Common Council-men, Constables and Clerk of the market, for misbehaviour, shall be removed, and others chosen, as is directed in the case of Aldermen. Aldermen,
&c.

And I do also, for me and my successors, by these presents, grant to the said Mayor and Commonalty, and their successors, that, if any of the citizens of the said city shall be hereafter nominated, elected and chosen to the office of Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council-men, as aforesaid, and having notice of his, or their election, shall refuse to undertake and execute that office, to which he is so chosen, that then, and so often, it shall, and may, be lawful for the Mayor and Recorder, Aldermen and Common Council-men, or the major part of the Aldermen and Common Council-men, for the time being, according to their discretion, to impose such moderate fines upon such refusers, so as the Mayor's fine exceed not *forty pounds*, the Alderman's *five and thirty pounds*, and Common Council-men *twenty pounds*, and other officers proportionably to be levied by distress and sale, by warrant under the common seal, or by other lawful ways, to the use of the said corporation. Penalties on
refusing to
serve, &c.

And in such cases it shall be lawful to chuse others, to supply the defects of such refusers, in manner as is above directed for elections.

And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Mayor, Recorder, and at least, three Aldermen for the time being, from time to time, so often as they shall find occasion, to summon a Common Council of the said city.

And that no Assembly, or meeting of the said citizens shall be deemed or accounted a Common Council, unless the said Mayor and Recorder, and at least three of the Aldermen, for the time being, and nine of the Common Council-men, be present. A Com-
mon Coun-
cil, what,
&c.

Power to
add to their
number,

And also that the said Mayor, Recorder and Common Council-men, for the time being, from time to time, at their Common Council, shall have power to admit such and so many freemen into their corporation and society as they shall think fit.

To make
laws and
ordinances,
&c.

And to make (and they may make, ordain, constitute, and establish) such and so many good and reasonable laws, ordinances and constitutions (not repugnant to the laws of England and this government) as to the greater part of them, at such Common Council assembled (where the Mayor and Recorder, for the time being, are to be always present) shall seem necessary and convenient for the government of the said city.

To execute
them, &c.

And the same laws, ordinances, orders, and constitution so to be made, to put in use and execution accordingly, by the proper officers of the said city; and at their pleasure to revoke, alter and make anew, as occasion shall require.

And to im-
pose mulcts,
&c.

And also impose such mulcts and amerciaments upon the breakers of such laws and ordinances, as to them, in their discretion, shall be thought reasonable; which mulcts, as also all other fines and amerciaments, to be set, or imposed, by virtue of the powers granted, shall be levied, as above is directed in case of fines, to the use of the said corporation, without rendering any account thereof to me, my heirs and successors; with power, to the Common Council aforesaid, to mitigate, remit or release such fines and mulcts, upon the submission of the parties. *Provided always*, that no person, or persons, hereafter, shall have right of electing or being elected, by virtue of these presents, to any office or place judicial or ministerial, nor shall be admitted freemen of the said city, unless they be free denizens of this province, and are of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, and are inhabitants of the said city, and have an estate of inheritance or freehold therein, or are worth *fifty pounds* in money or other stock, and have been resident in the said city for the space of two years, or shall purchase their freedom of the Mayor and Commonalty aforesaid.

Who may
elect or be
elected, &c.

Market
days.

And I do further grant to the said Mayor and Commonalty of the said city of *Philadelphia*, that they and their successors shall, and may for ever hereafter hold and keep within the said city, in every week of the year,

year, two market days, the one upon the fourth day of the week, and the other on the seventh day of the week, in such place or places as is, shall, or may be appointed for that purpose, by the said Commonalty, or their successors, from time to time.

And also two fairs therein every year, the one of them to begin on the sixteenth day of the third month, called May, yearly, and so to be held in and about the market place, and continue for that day and two days next following; and the other of the said fairs to be held in the aforefaid place on the sixteenth day of the ninth month, yearly, and for two days next after. Two fairs,

And I do, for me, my heirs and assigns, by virtue of the king's letters patent, make, erect and constitute the said city of *Philadelphia* to be a port or harbour for discharging and unlading of goods and merchandize out of ships, boats and other vessels, and for lading and shipping them in, or upon such and so many places, keys and wharffs there, as by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said city, shall, from time to time, be thought most expedient, for the accommodation and service of the officers of the customs, in the management of the king's affairs, and preservation of his duties, as well as for the conveniency of trade. Philadel-
phia consti-
tuted a
port.

And I do ordain and declare, that the said port, or harbour, shall be called the port of *Philadelphia*, and shall extend and be accounted to extend into all such creeks, rivers and places within this province, and shall have so many wharffs, keys, landing places, and members belonging thereto, for landing and shipping of goods, as the said Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, for the time being, with the approbation of the chief officer or officers of the king's customs, shall, from time to time, think fit to appoint. Extent of
the port.

And I do also ordain, that the landing places now and heretofore used at the Penny-pot-house and Blue Anchor, saving to all persons their just and legal rights and properties, in the land so to be open; as also the swamp between *Budd's* buildings and the *Society-hill*, shall be left open and common for the use and service of the said city and all others, with liberty to dig docks, and make harbours for ships and vessels, in all, or any part of the said swamp. Landing
places, &c.

And

Vacant land to remain open, for pasture, &c. And I do hereby grant, that all the vacant land within the bounds and limits of the said city shall remain open, as a free common, or pasture, for the use of the inhabitants of the said city, until the same shall be gradually taken in, in order to build or improve thereon, and not otherwise. Provided always, that nothing herein contained, shall debar me, or my heirs, in time to come, from fencing in all the vacant lands, that lie between the center meeting house and the *Schuylkill*, which I intend shall be divided from the land by me allotted for *Delaware* side, by a strait line along the broad street from *Edward Shippen's* land, through the center square by *Daniel Pegg's* land; nor shall the fencing, or taking in of any of the streets, happening to be within that inclosure on *Schuylkill*, be deemed or adjudged to be an encroachment, where it shall not interfere, or stop any of the streets, or passages, leading to any of the houses built, or to be built, on that side, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

To be construed in favor of the corporation. And I do grant, that this present charter shall, in all courts of law and equity be construed and taken most favourably and beneficially for the said corporation.

Date. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused my great seal to be affixed, dated at *Philadelphia*, the five and twentieth day of October, anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and one, and in the thirteenth year of the reign of king *William* the Third, over England, &c. and the one and twentieth year of my government.

WILLIAM PENN.

A P P E N D I X

TO THE

History of Pennsylvania.

PART II.

CONTAINING,

No. VII. *Friendly Association's Address to Governor Denny,*
in 1757.

VIII. and IX. *Christian Frederick Post's Journal among*
the Indians, &c. 1758.

No. VII.

To William Denny, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor and Commander
in Chief of the province of Pennsylvania, &c.

The *Address* of the Trustees and Treasurer of the *Friendly Association*, for regaining and preserving peace with the *Indians* by pacific measures,

Respectfully sheweth,

THAT on consideration of the answer given by the Governor to our offer of contributing towards the expence of the ensuing treaty with the *Indians*, we apprehend it to be necessary to lay before him a true state of the motives, which induced us to use our endeavours to promote a reconciliation with them; of the manner, in which we proceeded before and since the Governor's arrival in this province, and of some reasons we have for desiring to see that the grounds of their complaints are carefully and impartially enquired into and considered, and such measures pursued,
for

for satisfying them as the present melancholy circumstances of this province immediately require: and we doubt not, if the Governor will be pleased to attend to, and impartially consider, what we shall offer, he will be fully convinced that our conduct hath been consistent with the profession, we make, of acting on those principles, of fearing God, honouring the king, and promoting peace among men.

We, therefore, beg leave to inform the Governor, that soon after the first accounts were brought of the mischief done by the *Indians*, on the frontiers of *Virginia*, some of the people called *Quakers*, residing in *Philadelphia*, seriously considering the fatal consequences of losing that interest and friendship our predecessors had obtained, by their upright dealing and hospitable treatment of the *Indians*, in the first settlement of this province; and apprehending the general neglect of them, which had, for some time, been obvious, would terminate to the public disadvantage, determined to improve every future opportunity of manifesting some regard to them; and several companies of *Indians*, of different tribes, coming to this city on divers occasions, they were visited by some of us, invited to our houses, and on their going away, presented with some small matters, necessary for them, in their way of living; and the grateful manner in which they received these instances of regard, and the lively remembrance, they appeared to retain, of the friendship, which subsisted between their ancestors, and the first settlers of this province, afforded us real satisfaction, and some grounds to hope our good intentions would not be disappointed.

During the following winter, the frequent melancholy accounts of the barbarous murders, committed by the *Indians*, on the western and northern frontiers of this province, filled the minds of people in general, with a spirit of indignation and resentment against them, and no opportunity presented of publicly manifesting the earnest concern we had, to use our utmost endeavours, in a manner consistent with our peaceable principles, to prevent the impending desolation; the calamity became general, and every one was deeply interested in the measures taken for enquiring into the causes, which induced our ancient steady friends to become our enemies: yet this being the proper business of those then concerned in the administration of the government, we waited the event of their proceedings, having just grounds to hope, that the knowledge some of them had of several matters, which might probably have contributed to this unhappy rupture,* together

* These were printed both in the gazettes and in their minutes.

together with the repeated applications of the Assembly of the province, would have excited them to pursue every rational method of making such an enquiry, and obtaining an amicable adjustment of all differences with these *Indians*, and of thereby averting the melancholy consequences of continuing to expose them immediately to the artifices of the *French*, who would not fail to take advantage of our misunderstanding with them: but the spring of another year returned, and the public remained unacquainted with such measures being pursued; great military preparations were indeed made and forts erected in many parts of the frontiers, but the desolation and distress of the province increased, and the sanguine expectations of the people, who had, at first, hoped by these means to defend themselves, were remarkably disappointed. Governor *Morris*, nevertheless, determining to issue a declaration of war against the *Delawares* and *Shawanese*, many of the people called *Quakers* residing in *Philadelphia*, met together and presented an address to him, earnestly beseeching, "That every measure which had been pursued, and whatever remained possible to be done, to prevent so lamentable an extremity, might be strictly and impartially reviewed and considered; that full enquiry might be made, whether some apprehensions these *Indians* had conceived of a deviation from the integrity of conduct towards them, conspicuous in the first establishment, might not unhappily have contributed, in some degree, to the alteration of their conduct towards us; that full time might be allowed for these *Indians*, who remained well affected towards us, to use and report the effect of their endeavours to reconcile our enemies to us, and that, by the Governor's care, to guard against involving the innocent with the guilty, such clear demonstrations of Christian tenderness might be given, as might tend to the engaging other neighbouring *Indians* in the desirable work of restoring peace and tranquillity; and, at the same time, offering, though a much larger part of their estates should be necessary, than the heaviest taxes of a war could be expected to require, by voluntary grants cheerfully to contribute towards the obtaining peace, in the same manner as the unhappy experience of several of the most martial neighbouring colonies had, after long and bloody wars, testified it must at last, if ever, be obtained."

Governor *Morris* was pleased to give a civil answer to this address; but thought it necessary to proceed immediately to a declaration of war: a few days after which, some of us having the opportunity of a free conference with *Conrad Weiser*, who had, as provincial interpreter, been long concerned in public transactions with the *Indians*; we were thereby confirmed in our apprehensions,

hensions, that some dissatisfaction, respecting their lands, had tended to the alienating their friendship from us; and that he thought the only method, to save the province from ruin, was to endeavour for a peace with them, by *pacific measures*; and the next day a *Delaware Indian*, from the *Ferseys*, was sent to one of us, with a letter from *Conrad Weiser*, recommending him, as a person worthy of some notice from us, and fit to be employed on a message to the *Delawares*, when an opportunity of sending one could be obtained; and there being, at that time, a number of the *Chiefs* of the *Six Nation Indians* in town, some of us thought it necessary to take some friendly notice of them; but being determined to avoid giving any occasion of offence, before we had any conversation with them, two of us waited on Governor *Morris*, and informed him, "That as he had issued his declaration of war, we thought it our duty to acquiesce therein; but, as there were some *friendly Indians* in town, we were disposed to take some notice of them, and to endeavour, by a friendly conversation, to manifest our good disposition towards them, and engage their good offices on any occasion, which might be improved for the public welfare; and we, at the same time, assured the Governor if any thing should occur, which had a prospect of tending to the public interest, or might be worthy of his notice, he should be fully acquainted therewith." The Governor expressed his approbation of our design, and gave us full liberty to prosecute our intentions, and the next day some of these *Indian Chiefs*, with *Conrad Weiser* and *Andrew Montour*, the provincial interpreters, and *D. Claus*, General *Johnson's* Secretary, dined at one of our houses; and after dinner, had some conversation on the happy state of the first settlers of this province, and the unhappy rupture, which had lately happened.

The free and hearty acknowledgments of pleasure and gratitude, from these *Indians*, fully evidenced their good disposition towards us, and induced *Conrad Weiser* to declare, he had not lately heard them express themselves with so much openness, and earnestly to urge our improving this opportunity; and, in order to it, he advised the calling together as many of our ancient men, of the survivors of the first settlers, as we could collect, and to give the *Indians* another meeting, in which the substance of that conversation might be repeated, and enforced on their minds, by presenting them with a belt of *wampum*.

Governor *Morris* was immediately informed of what had passed; and as there appeared some prospect of improving this disposition of the *Indians* to the public benefit, he was assured, that if he would advise and direct the manner of proceeding, nothing more was

was desired by us than under his direction to proceed therein, in such manner as would be most agreeable to him, most effectually answer the purpose intended, and demonstrate that we did not act from views of private advantage thereby: and lest the differences then subsisting, between him and the Assembly, about the raising money for the public services, should discourage, or retard his engaging therein; he was told, that whatever sum of money should be wanting, even, to the amount of £. 5,000, he should be immediately supplied with, and by every part of our conduct, should find our hearty concern for the public welfare to be our principal motive.

Our purposes appeared acceptable to the Governor; about twenty of us, with the same interpreters, had two conferences with the *Indians*; and the most material parts of what they said were immediately communicated to the Governor; and the proposal* of sending three messengers to the *Delawares* and *Shawaneese* being approved of by him, the necessary provision was made for their setting out, and proper company provided, for their safe conduct through the improved part of the province; and when they were ready to proceed on their journey, the Governor being waited on for the passes, and requested to direct what signal they should give, on their return, to distinguish them from enemies; while the passes lay before him ready to be signed, he suddenly appeared to change his intentions, and signified his resolution to consult his Council, on the occasion. The minutes of our conversation with these *Indians*, being examined and signed by the three interpreters, were immediately, after this, delivered to the Governor; and, his Council being summoned, we were informed, they soon agreed, that, as he had so lately declared war, any offers of peace from him would be unseasonable, and that the method first proposed of the messengers going with such instructions, as they had received from their own *chiefs*, was most fit to be pursued. The next day the *Indian chiefs* setting out in the stage boat for *New York*, after they were gone, the messengers refused to perform the service they had undertaken, and the day following, the Governor, in consequence of some intelligence received from the Governor of *New York*, concluded to send the messengers in his own name.

To prevent any misrepresentations of our conduct, as well as to engage the friendship of gentlemen, from whom we hoped to receive more hearty assistance, than we had from those, on whom

VOL. II.

[55]

we

* This was made by the *Indian Chiefs*, and the message to be from them to the *Delawares*, &c.

we had hitherto depended, copies of the minutes of our conversations with the *Indians*, and their answers, were immediately sent to the Governor of *New York*, and to General *Johnson*, and an earnest application for their assistance, in engaging the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* to promote the restoration of peace, with an offer of cheerfully defraying the expences thereof, Governor *Hardy* was so kind as to send such an answer as evidenced his hearty concern for the public welfare; and laid us under sensible obligations; and we never received the least hint, from General *Johnson*, of his disapprobation of any part of our conduct therein. Under these circumstances, we had reason to apprehend that our intention was approved of, and the speedy return of the messengers with an agreeable answer, confirmed us in a resolution to continue our endeavours to engage as many of our fellow-subjects, as possible, to concur with us therein.

The messengers being sent the second time, on their return brought with them the *Indian king*, *Teedyuscung*, and some of his people, to *Easton*, and repeatedly informed us of the necessity of our personal attendance there, and manifest thereby, and by contributing towards the expences of a suitable present, the sincerity of our professions of regard to them; and they were not willing to go back to the *Indians*, without us.

We, therefore, being informed that Governor *Morris* had resolved to meet them at *Easton*,* that the provincial treasury was exhausted, and that the Proprietaries' agents refused to contribute towards the necessary expences, and appeared averse to the promotion of these *pacific measures*, a considerable number of us thought it necessary to enter into a subscription, towards raising a fund, to supply the deficiency of what ought, in justice, to be contributed by the Proprietaries, on this occasion; and a considerable sum was immediately subscribed, and Governor *Morris* informed of our inclination to attend the treaty, and to make some addition to the present provided at the public expence. From the time of the first messengers arriving at *Teaogon*, the hostilities on our northern frontiers ceased, and a stop being put to the cruel devastations that had been committed, an acceptable respite was obtained for our distressed fellow subjects, which afforded us real pleasure and satisfaction; so that all the malicious calumnies and aspersions (which then were uttered) were not sufficient to divert us from the steady prosecution of our purpose. Governor *Morris* being at *Easton* some time before us, immediately after our arrival there, some of us waited on him, to repeat our desires of promoting

* The votes of Assembly prove it.

ing the public interest, and contributing any assistance in our power, in such manner as might be most agreeable to him; he received us civilly, and expressed his approbation of our design. At the Governor's lodgings we first saw *Teedyuscung* the *Delaware* chief, to whom we were before utterly strangers: on our coming in he immediately expressed his regard for, and confidence in, the *Quakers*;* and declared, "He would not proceed to any business, unless we were present;" and confirmed it so evidently by his subsequent conduct, at that time, and the ensuing treaty, that we could not, without unjustifiable neglect of our duty, decline contributing our utmost endeavours to improve this disposition to the interest of our country, so far as we might be able to do it, consistent with our respective stations in life.

Governor *Morris* was afterwards pleased to accept of the present provided by us, and to deliver it to the *Indians*, in our name.

After the conclusion of this treaty, Governor *Morris* thought it necessary to send Capt. *Newcastle* on a message to the *Indians*, at or near fort *Johnson*: but before he was set out, Governor *Denny* arrived, and succeeded in the government of this province, and we always apprehended, that, in his name, and by his authority, Capt. *Newcastle* went on that message, as we never interfered therein, in any manner whatever, and were not informed the particular business he was charged with. On Captain *Newcastle's* return, we found by conversing with him, he had given some offence to General *Johnson*, and we have since had cause to apprehend† that some gentlemen in higher stations, have been informed, that we had sent *Newcastle* on this message, and given him matters in charge, to be privately transacted with the *Indians*, after it was known to us that the king had, by a special commission, authorized Sir *William Johnson* to negotiate all matters of a public concern with them; but as we had not given any occasion for such a charge, nor were any way concerned in sending that message, it affords us a particular pleasure, that the Governor has given us so favourable an opportunity of clearing ourselves from this unjust censure, and we hope that this ingenuous account of our conduct, in the course of this business before the Governor's arrival, will fully evince that we proceeded therein on just motives, and with the regard due from us to the Governor of this province.

It is well known to the Governor, that on his arrival here, some of us waited on him, and one of us assured him of our sincere

* This was in the hearing of Governor *Morris*.

† From the account given by General *Johnson* to the Earl of *Loudon* of this journey of *Newcastle*, it is thought the Earl was induced to express himself in the manner Governor *Denny* has published in his late messages to the Assembly.

cere desire to proceed in contributing our assistance towards the restoration of peace, in a manner most agreeable to him, and consistent with our characters and stations. He was then pleased to declare his approbation of our purpose; and when we waited on him with our address, before the second treaty of *Easton*, the Governor, by his answer,* declared his approbation of our proceedings, and his being willing to receive the present we prepared, and invited us to attend the treaty: we had reason to conclude, that our conduct there had given the Governor no occasion of offence; as, after the business was finished, on our acknowledging his integrity and candour in the public transactions there;† he gave us such an answer as fully expressed his being well pleased with us; and the Secretary and Provincial Interpreter very liberally declared their satisfaction and approbation of our conduct; and the latter fully testified that we had thereby evidently promoted the public interest, and been instrumental in bringing the business so far towards the desired issue.

From that time till the late treaty at *Lancaster*, we know of no part of our proceedings, which could displease the Governor, unless our application to the Secretary, for an inspection of the records, in his office, had that unexpected effect. Lest that should be the case, and the intention and manner of that application be misrepresented by any of the Proprietaries' Agents, and others engaged with them in the measures, which have contributed to the present unhappy circumstances of this province, we think it necessary to inform the Governor, that this province was settled on terms very different from most of the other colonies; the first adventurers were men of substance and reputation, who purchased the lands of the Proprietor; and as he obliged himself, and his heirs, by an express covenant, contained in their original deeds, "To clear the land from all titles, claims, or demands of the *Indian* natives, or any other persons whatsoever;" they agreed to pay an annual quit-rent, more than sufficient to enable him to satisfy the *Indians*, and obtain a peaceable possession of the land; and during the lives of our first Proprietor, and the first settlers, we believe this was faithfully performed, and so large a balance remained, towards making further purchases, as the settlement of the country increased, that any attempt to elude the original intention and agreement of honestly purchasing the land of the people, who had a native right in it, will be ever condemned by all impartial and honest men.

At

* This answer was in writing.

† He thanked us for our company, and said he was glad we were there, and that his conduct was satisfactory to us, and that he should endeavour to act so upon all occasions, as to deserve our esteem, &c.

At the second treaty, at *Easton*, the Governor, by his candid and ingenuous treatment of the *Indians* (as the *Mohawks* since aptly expressed it) "Put his hand into *Teedyuscung's* bosom, and was so successful as to draw out the secret; which neither Sir William Johnson, nor the *Six Nations* could do." From that time it was generally known, that one cause of the alienation of their friendship was some injustice they had received, or supposed to be done them, in the purchases and running out of their lands. They complained of divers kinds of frauds, which had been committed, repeatedly urged, that an impartial enquiry should be made into the grounds of their complaints, by searching all our records, and by the strong motives of a regard to our temporal and eternal interest, urged the Governor to give liberty to all persons and friends to search into those matters. Thus we thought ourselves under the strongest obligations to make all the enquiry in our power, into the true state of the *Indian* claims, whether or not such care had been taken to purchase, and pay them for the lands, as the Proprietaries' Agents had constantly asserted. The right many of us who hold large tracts of land under the first settlers, the Governor's repeated declarations, both in public and private, that those matters should be honestly and fully enquired into, and the *Indians'* injunctions that this should be done, not only by the persons thus complained of, or their Agents, but by others likewise interested therein, united in engaging our particular attention, and gave us a reasonable prospect of meeting with the Governor's approbation; and though the Secretary refused to permit us to proceed therein, by inspecting the records in his office, we still had cause to think our farther application to the necessary and important concern of regaining peace, was not contrary to the Governor's inclination, as on our informing him of our intention to attend the treaty at *Lancaster*, and our willingness to contribute towards the expenses of the present, to be given to the *Indians* there, the Governor with the utmost readiness expressed his approbation of our proposal; and we are not conscious of having, at that treaty, or since, given the least occasion for the alteration of his conduct towards us; which from the answer now received, and the conversation consequent thereon, we have occasion to observe.

We have no views inconsistent with the honour of our gracious king, and the interest of our country, both which we sincerely endeavour to promote; we have heartily desired that people of every denomination, in the province, would unite in the same good purpose, and particularly in this business, that the same harmony and good understanding, which subsisted between the first settlers of the province and the natives, might be revived and maintained

maintained, and we have happily succeeded with several religious societies, who have raised funds, and are ready to apply them towards restoring peace: and, if the complaints of the *Indians* appear to be just, and the Proprietaries and their Agents should refuse to make them such satisfaction as, in justice, they ought to have, rather than the lives of our fellow-subjects should be sacrificed, their properties destroyed, and so large a part of the king's dominions laid waste, they will freely join with us, in contributing towards the satisfying such just claims of the *Indians*, or at least, to pacify them, till the immediate authority of the king, of whose justice and paternal care we have not the least doubt, can be interposed, and justice, equity and mercy be again restored and maintained amongst us.

And, if we are now so happy as to convince the Governor of the integrity of our intentions and conduct, we shall have reason to hope, he will concur with us, in taking the first opportunity of convincing the nobleman he has named, that it must be from some unjust representations, that he was induced to think, "We had presumed to treat with foreign princes, or by acting as mediators, between the government and an independent people, invaded the king's prerogative royal." We apprehend, our duty to God and the king has engaged us in this business; and some of the good effects thereof have already appeared; we, therefore, now again offer the Governor, to contribute something considerable towards the present necessary to be made to the *Indians*, at the ensuing treaty, and by our personal attendance to improve the confidence and good opinion these people have of us, to the public benefit.

Should the Governor persist in refusing to accept our present, we assure him, we shall not, by any part of our conduct, give any just occasion to charge us with a disrespectful conduct towards him, and we desire our attendance, at the treaty, may not be considered as such. The business to be transacted there is of so much consequence to the lives, liberties, and properties of the people of this province, that should we omit to attend there, and depend on the Governor and the King's Agent, receiving all their information, on this important occasion, from the Proprietaries' Agents and others, who have, for some years past, been concerned in the transacting *Indian* affairs, we should be deficient of our duty, as *Christians* and *Englishmen*, denominations, we hold more dear to us, than any other titles, or appellations, whatsoever.

*Signed on behalf, and by appointment of the said Trustees
and Treasurer, by*

ABEL JAMES, Clerk.

Philadelphia, the 14th of the seventh month, 1757.

No. VIII.

The first journal of Christian Frederick Post, from Philadelphia to the Ohio, on a message from the government of Pennsylvania to the Delaware, Shawanese, and Mingo Indians, settled there, and formerly in alliance with the English; in order to prevail on them to withdraw from the French interest; in the year 1758. London, printed for John Wilkie, &c. 1759; with the notes, &c.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST was a plain, honest, religiously disposed *German*, and one of the *Moravian* brethren; who, from a conscientious opinion of duty, formerly had lived among the *Mohiccon* Indians, with a view to convert them to *Christianity*.

He had married twice among them, and lived with them seventeen years. It was a dangerous undertaking; and though he was an illiterate person, and his narrative seemingly artless and uncouth, yet being a man of sincerity, acquainted with the *Indian* manners, and the importance of the affair, at that time, being very interesting, the *Indian* custom of treating on public affairs may thereby partly appear, and be entertaining. The event shewed the propriety of using reason, and friendly treatment, or true policy, towards the *Indians*, in preference to force, or violence, when it may be done: the former of which had so long been successfully used by the more early settlers of *Pennsylvania*, and the latter so lately attended with unhappy consequences, &c.

THE JOURNAL, &c.

July the 15th, 1758.—This day I received orders from his honour, the Governor, to set out on my intended journey, and proceeded as far as *German Town*, where I found all the *Indians* drunk.* *Willamegicken* returned to *Philadelphia*, for a horse, that was promised him.

——16th. This day I waited for the said *Willamegicken* till near noon, and when he came, being very drunk,* he could proceed no further, so that I left him, and went to *Bethlehem*.†

July

* All Indians are excessive fond of rum, and will be drunk whenever they can get it.

† The *Moravian* Brethren's settlement.

July 17th. I arrived at *Bethlehem*, and prepared for my journey.

——18th. I read over both the last treaties, that at *Easton*, and that at *Philadelphia*, and made myself acquainted with the particulars of each.

——19th. With much difficulty I persuaded the *Indians* to leave *Bethlehem*, and travelled this day no further than *Hayes's*, having a hard shower of rain.

——20th. Arrived at fort *Allen*.

——21st. I called my company together, to know if we should proceed. They complained they were sick, and must rest that day. This day, I think, *Teedyuscung* laid many obstacles in my way, and was very much against my proceeding: he said, he was afraid I should never return; and that the *Indians* would kill me. About dinner time two *Indians* arrived from *Wyoming*, with an account that *Teedyuscung's* son, *Hans Jacob*, was returned, and brought news from the *French* and *Allegheny Indians*. *Teedyuscung* then called a Council, and proposed that I should only go to *Wyoming*, and return, with the message his son had brought, to *Philadelphia*. I made answer, that it was too late, that he should have proposed that in *Philadelphia*; for that the writings containing my orders were so drawn, as obliged me to go, though I should lose my life.

——22d. I desired my companions to prepare to set out, upon which *Teedyuscung* called them all together in the fort, and protested against my going. His reasons were, that he was afraid the *Indians* would kill me, or the *French* get me; and if that should be the case he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do. I gave for answer, “that I did not know what to think of their conduct. It is plain, said I, that the *French* have a *public road** to your towns, yet you will not let your own flesh and blood, the *English*, come near them; which is very hard: and if that be the case, the *French* must be your masters.” I added, that, if I died in the undertaking, it would be as much for the *Indians* as the *English*, and that I hoped my journey would be of this advantage, that it would be the means of saving the lives of many hundreds of the *Indians*: therefore, I was resolved to go forward, taking my life in my hand, as one ready to part with it for their good. Immediately after I had spoken thus, three rose up and offered to go with me the nearest way; and we concluded to go through the inhabitants, under the Blue mountains to fort *Augusta*, on *Susquahanna*; where we arrived the 25th.

It gave me great pain to observe many plantations deserted and laid waste; and I could not but reflect on the distress, the poor owners

* An *Indian* expression meaning free admission.

owners must be drove to, who once lived in plenty; and I prayed the Lord to restore peace and prosperity to the distressed.

At fort *Augusta* we were entertained very kindly, had our horses shod, and one being lame, we exchanged for another. Here we received, by *Indians* from *Diabogo*,* the disagreeable news that our army was, as they said, entirely cut off at *Ticonderoga*, which discouraged one of my companions, *Lappopetung's* son, so much, that he would proceed no further. *Shamokin Daniel* here asked me, if I thought he should be satisfied for his trouble in going with me. I told him every body, that did any service for the province, I thought, would be paid.

—27th. They furnished us here with every necessary for our journey, and we set out with good courage. After we rode about ten miles, we were caught in a hard gust of rain.

—28th. We came to *Wekeeponall*, where the road turns off for *Wyoming*, and slept this night at *Queenasbarwakee*.

—29th. We crossed the *Susquahanna* over the *Big Island*. My companions were now very fearful, and this night went a great way out of the road, to sleep without fire, but could not sleep for the musketoes and vermin.

—30th & 31st. We were glad it was day, that we might set out. We got upon the mountains, and had heavy rains all night. The heavens alone were our covering, and we accepted of all that was poured down from thence.

August 1st. We saw three hoops † on a bush; to one of them there remained some long white hair. Our horses left us, I suppose, not being fond of the dry food on the mountains: with a good deal of trouble we found them again. We slept this night on the same mountain.

—2d. We came across several places where two poles, painted red, were stuck in the ground by the *Indians*, to which they tie the prisoners, when they stop at night, in their return from their incursions. We arrived this night at *Shinglimubee*, where was another of the same posts. It is a disagreeable and melancholy sight, to see the means they make use of, according to their savage way, to distress others.

—3d. We came to a part of a river called *Tobeco*, over the mountains, a very bad road.

* An Indian settlement towards the heads of *Susquahanna*.

† Little hoops on which the *Indians* stretch and dress the raw scalps.

August 4th. We lost one of our horses, and with much difficulty found him, but were detained a whole day on that account.

I had much conversation with *Pisquetumen* ;* of which I think to inform myself further when I get to my journey's end.

——5th. We set out early this day, and made a good long stretch, crossing the big river *Tobeco*, and lodged between two mountains. I had the misfortune to lose my pocket book with three pounds five shillings,† and sundry other things. What writings it contained were illegible to any body but myself.

——6th. We passed all the mountains, and the big river, *Wesba-wauucks*, and crossed a fine meadow two miles in length, where we slept that night, having nothing to eat.

——7th. We came in sight of fort *Venango*, belonging to the *French*, situate between two mountains, in a fork of the *Ohio* river. I prayed the Lord to blind them, as he did the enemies of *Lot* and *Elisba*, that I might pass unknown. When we arrived, the fort being on the other side of the river, we hallooed, and desired them to fetch us over; which they were afraid to do; but shewed us a place where we might ford. We slept that night within half gun shot of the fort.

——8th. This morning I hunted for my horse, round the fort, within ten yards of it. The Lord heard my prayer, and I passed unknown till we had mounted our horses to go off, when two *Frenchmen* came to take leave of the *Indians*, and were much surprised at seeing me, but said nothing.

By what I could learn of *Pisquetumen*, and the *Indians*, who went into the fort, the garrison consisted of only six men, and an officer blind of one eye. They enquired much of the *Indians* concerning the *English*, whether they knew of any party coming to attack them, of which they were very apprehensive.

——9th. Heavy rains all night and day: we slept on swampy ground.

——10th. We imagined we were near *Kushkushkee*, and having travelled three miles, we met three *Frenchmen*, who appeared very shy of us, but said nothing more than to enquire, whether we knew of any *English* coming against fort *Venango*.

After we travelled two miles farther, we met with an *Indian*, and one that I took to be a runagade *English Indian* trader; he spoke good *English*, was very curious in examining every thing, particularly

* An *Indian* Chief, that travelled with him.

† The money of *Pennsylvania*, being paper, is chiefly carried in pocket books.

particularly the silver medal about *Pisquitumen's* neck. He appeared by his countenance to be guilty. We enquired of them where we were, and found we were lost, and within twenty miles of fort *Duquesne*. We struck out of the road to the right, and slept between two mountains; and being destitute of food, two went to hunt, and the others to seek a road, but to no purpose.

——11th. We went to the place where they had killed two deers, and *Pisquetumen* and I roasted the meat. Two went to hunt for the road, to know which way we should go: one came back, and had found a road; the other lost himself.

——12th. The rest of us hunted for him, but in vain; so, as we could not find him, we concluded to set off, leaving such marks, that, if he returned, he might know which way to follow us; and we left him some meat. We came to the river *Gonaquonaashon*, where was an old *Indian* town. We were then fifteen miles from *Kushkushkee*.

There we stopt, and sent forward *Pisquetumen* with four strings of *wampum* to apprize the town of our coming,* with this message:

“ Brother,† thy brethren are come a great way, and want to see thee, at thy fire, to *snoak that good tobacco*,‡ which our good grandfathers used to *snoak*. Turn thy eyes once more upon that road, by which I came.§ I bring thee words of great consequence from the Governor, and people of *Pennsylvania*, and from the king of *England*. Now I desire thee to call all the kings and captains from all the towns, that none may be missing. I do not desire that my words may be hid, or spoken under cover. I want to speak loud, that all the *Indians* may hear me. I hope thou wilt bring me on the road, and lead me into the town. I blind the *French*, that they may not see me, and stop their ears, that they may not hear the great news I bring you.”

About noon we met some *Shawanese*, that used to live at *Wyoming*. They knew me, and received me very kindly. I saluted them, and assured them the government of *Pennsylvania* wished them well, and wished to live in peace and friendship with them. Before we came to the town, two men came to meet us and lead us

* According to the rules of *Indian politeness*, you must never go into a town without sending a previous message to denote your arrival, or, standing at a distance from the town, and hallooing till some come out, to conduct you in. Otherwise you are thought as *rude as white men*.

† When the people of a town, or of a nation, are addressed, the *Indians* always use the singular number.

‡ *I. E.* To confer in a friendly manner.

§ *I. E.* Call to mind our ancient friendly intercourse.

us in. King Beaver shewed us a large house to lodge in.* The people soon came and shook hands with us. The number was about sixty young able men. Soon after king *Beaver* came and told his people, “ Boys, hearken, we sat here without ever expecting again to see our brethren the *English*; but now one of them is brought before you, that you may see your brethren, the *English*, with your own eyes; and I wish you may take it into consideration.” Afterwards he turned to me and said,

“ Brother, I am very glad to see you, I never thought we should have had the opportunity to see one another more; but now I am very glad, and thank God, who has brought you to us. It is a great satisfaction to me.” I said, “ Brother, I rejoice in my heart, I thank God, who has brought me to you. I bring you joyful news from the Governor and people of *Pennsylvania*, and from your children, the *Friends* :† and, as I have words of great consequence I will lay them before you, when all the kings and captains are called together from the other towns. I wish there may not be a man of them missing, but that they may be all here to hear.”

In the evening king Beaver came again, and told me, they had held a council, and sent out to all their towns, but it would take five days before they could all come together. I thanked him for his care. Ten captains came and saluted me. One said to the others; “ We never expected to see our brethren the *English* again, but now God has granted us once more to shake hands with them, which we will not forget.” They sat by my fire till midnight.

——14th. The people crowded to my house; it was full. We had much talk. *Delaware George* said, he had not slept all night, so much had he been engaged on account of my coming. The *French* came, and would speak with me. There were then fifteen of them building houses for the *Indians*. The captain is gone with fifteen to another town. He can speak the *Indian* tongue well. The *Indians* say he is a cunning fox; that they get a great deal of goods from the *French*; and that the *French* cloath the *Indians* every year, men, women and children, and give them as much powder and lead as they want.

——15th. *Beaver* king was informed, that *Teedyuscung* had said he had turned the hatchet against the *French*, by advice of the *Alleghany Indians*; this he blamed, as they had never sent him such advice. But being informed it was his own doing, without any persuasion of the Governor, he was easy on that head. *De-*
laware

* Every *Indian* town has a large cabin for the entertainment of strangers by the public hospitality.

† That is, the *Quakers*, for whom the *Indians* have a particular regard.

laware Daniel prepared a dinner, to which he invited me, and all the kings and captains; and when I came, he said, "Brother, we are as glad to see you among us, as if we dined with the Governor and people in *Philadelphia*. We have thought a great deal since you have been here. We never thought so much before."* I thanked them for their kind reception; I said, it was something great, that God had spared our lives, to see one another again, in the old brother-like love and friendship. There were in all thirteen, who dined together.

In the evening they danced at my fire, first the men, and then the women, till after midnight.

On the 16th, the king and the captains called on me privately. They wanted to hear what *Teedyuscung* had said of them, and begged me to take out the writings. I read to them what *Teedyuscung* had said, and told them, as *Teedyuscung* had said he would speak so loud, that all at *Allegheny*, and beyond, should hear it, I would conceal nothing from them. They said, they never sent any such advice (as above mentioned) to *Teedyuscung*, nor ever sent a message at all to the government; and now the *French* were here, their captain would come to hear, and this would make disturbance. I then told them I would read the rest, and leave out that part, and they might tell the kings and captains of it, when they came together.

—— 17th. Early this morning they called all the people together to clean the place, where they intended to hold the council, it being in the middle of the town. *Kushkushkee* is divided into four towns, each at a distance from the others; and the whole consists of about ninety houses, and two hundred able warriors.

About noon two public messengers arrived from the *Indians* at fort *Duquesne* and the other towns. They brought three large belts and two bundles of strings;† there came with them a *French* captain, and fifteen men. The two messengers insisted that I should go with them to fort *Duquesne*; that there were *Indians* of eight nations, who wanted to hear me; that if I brought good news, they inclined to leave off war, and live in friendship with the *English*. The above messengers being *Indian* captains, were very
furly.

* That is, we look on your coming as a matter of importance, it engages our attention.

† These belts and strings are made of shell-beads, called *wampum*. The *wampum* serves, among the *Indians*, as money; of it they also make their necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments. Belts and strings of it are used in all public negotiations; to each belt or string there is connected a message, speech, or part of a speech, to be delivered with a belt by the messenger, or speaker. These belts also serve for records, being worked with figures, composed of beads of different colours, to assist the memory.

furly. When I went to shake hands with one of them, he gave me his little finger; the other withdrew his hand entirely; upon which I appeared as stout as either, and withdrew my hand as quick as I could. Their rudeness to me was taken very ill by the other captains, who treated them in the same manner in their turn.

I told them my order was to go to the *Indian* towns, kings and captains, and not to the *French*; that the *English* were at war with the *French*, but not with those *Indians*, who withdrew from the *French*, and would be at peace with the *English*.

King Beaver invited me to his house to dinner, and afterwards he invited the *French* captain, and said before the *Frenchman*, that the *Indians* were very proud to see one of their brothers, the *English*, among them; at which the *French* captain appeared low spirited, and seemed to eat his dinner with very little appetite.

In the afternoon the *Indian* kings and captains called me aside, and desired me to read them the writings that I had. First I read part of the *Easton* treaty to them; but they presently stopped me, and would not hear it; I then began with the articles of peace made with the *Indians* there. They stopped me again, and said, they had nothing to say to any treaty, or league, of peace, made at *Easton*, nor had any thing to do with *Teedyuscung*; that, if I had nothing to say to them from the government, or Governor, they would have nothing to say to me; and farther said, they had hitherto been at war with the *English*, and had never expected to be at peace with them again; and that there were six of their men now gone to war against them with other *Indians*; that had there been peace between us, those men should not have gone to war. I then shewed them the belts and strings from the Governor; and they again told me to lay aside *Teedyuscung*, and the peace made by him; for that they had nothing to do with it.* I desired them to suffer me to produce my papers, and I would read what I had to say to them.

——18th. *Delaware George* is very active in endeavouring to establish a peace. I believe he is in earnest. Hitherto they have all treated me kindly.

In the afternoon, all the kings and captains were called together, and sent for me to their council. King Beaver first addressed himself to the captains; and afterwards spoke to me, as follows:

“ Brother,

* The peace made with *Teedyuscung*, was for the *Delawares*, &c. on *Susquabanna* only, and did not include the *Indians* on the *Ohio*; they having no deputies at the treaty. But he had promised to *balloo* to them, that is, send messengers to them, and endeavour to draw them into the peace, which he accordingly did.

“ Brother, you have been here now five days by our fire.* We have sent to all the kings and captains, desiring them to come to our fire and hear the good news you brought. Yesterday they sent two captains to acquaint us, they were glad to hear our *English* brother was come among us, and were desirous to hear the good news he brought; and since there are a great many nations that went to see our brother, they have invited us to their fire, that they may hear us all. Now, brother, we have but one great fire; so, brother, by this string we will take you in our arms, and deliver you into the arms of the other kings, and when we have called all the nations there, we will hear the good news, you have brought.” Delivers four strings.

King *Beaver*, *Shingas*, and *Delaware George*, spoke as follows:

“ Brother, we alone cannot make a peace; it would be of no signification; for, as all the *Indians*, from the sun-rise to the sun-set, are united in a body, it is necessary that the whole should join in the peace, or it can be no peace; and we can assure you, all the *Indians*, a great way from this, even beyond the lakes, are desirous of, and wish for a peace with the *English*, and have desired us, as we are the nearest of kin, if we see the *English* incline to a peace, to hold it fast.”

On the 19th, all the people gathered together, men, women, and children; and king *Beaver* desired me to read to them the news I had brought, and told me that all the able men would go with me to the other town. I complied with his desire, and they appeared very much pleased at every thing, till I came to that part respecting the prisoners. This they disliked; for, they say, it appears very odd and unreasonable that we should demand prisoners before there is an established peace; such an unreasonable demand makes us appear as if we wanted brains.

——20th. We set out from *Kushkushkee*, for *Sankonk*; my company consisted of twenty-five horsemen and fifteen foot. We arrived at *Sankonk*, in the afternoon. The people of the town were much disturbed at my coming, and received me in a very rough manner. They surrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, in such a manner, that I could hardly get along; running up against me, with their breasts open, as if they wanted some pretence to kill me. I saw by their countenances they sought my death. Their faces were quite distorted with rage, and they went so far as to say, I should not live long; but some *Indians*, with whom I was formerly acquainted, coming up, and saluting me in a friendly manner, their behaviour to me was quickly changed.

On

* A fire, in public affairs, signifies, among the *Indians*, a council.

On the 21st, they sent Messengers to Fort *Duquesne*, to let them know I was there, and invited them to their fire. In the afternoon, I read them all my message, the *French* captain being present; for he still continued with us: upon which they were more kind to me. In the evening, fifteen more arrived here from *Kushkushkee*. The men here now about one hundred and twenty.

——22d. Arrived about twenty *Shawanese* and *Mingos*. I read to them the message; at which they seemed well pleased. Then the two kings came to me, and spoke in the following manner:

“ Brother, we, the *Shawanese* and *Mingos*, have heard your message; the messenger we sent to Fort *Duquesne*, is returned, and tells us, there are eight different nations there, who want to hear your message; we will conduct you there, and let both the *Indians* and *French* hear what our brothers, the English, have to say.”

I protested against going to Fort *Duquesne*, but all in vain; for they insisted on my going, and said that I need not fear the *French*, for they would carry me in their bosoms, i. e. engage for my safety.

——23d. We set off for Fort *Duquesne*, and went no farther this night than Log's town, where I met with four *Shawanese*, who lived in *Wyoming* when I did. They received me very kindly, and called the prisoners to shake hands with me, as their countryman, and gave me leave to go into every house to see them, which was done in no other town besides.

——24th. They called to me, and desired that I would write to the general for them. The jealousy natural to the *Indians* is not to be described; for though they wanted me to write for them, they were afraid I would, at the same time, give other information, and this perplexed them.

We continued our journey to the fort; and arrived in sight, on this side the river, in the afternoon, and all the *Indian* chiefs immediately came over; they called me into the middle, and king *Beaver* presented me to them, and said, “ Here is our *English* brother, who has brought great news.” Two of them rose up and signified they were glad to see me. But an old deaf *Onondago* *Indian* rose up and signified his displeasure. This *Indian* is much disliked by the others; he had heard nothing yet, that had passed, he has lived here a great while, and constantly lives in the fort, and is mightily attached to the *French*; he spoke as follows, to the *Delawares*:

“ I do

“ I do not know this *Swannock* ;* it may be that you know him. I, the *Shawaneſe*, and our father† do not know him. I ſtand here (ſtamping his foot) as a man on his own ground ;‡ therefore, I, the *Shawaneſe* and my father do not like that a *Swannock* come on our ground.” Then there was ſilence awhile, till the pipe went round ;§ after that was over, one of the *Delawares* roſe up, and ſpoke in oppoſition to him that ſpoke laſt, and delivered himſelf as follows :

“ That man ſpeaks not as a man ; he endeavours to frighten us, by ſaying this ground is his ; he dreams ; he and his father have certainly drank too much liquor ; they are drunk ; pray let them go to ſleep till they be ſober. You do not know what your own nation does, at home ; how much they have to ſay to the *Swannocks*. You are quite rotten. You ſtink.|| You do nothing but ſmoke your pipe here. Go to ſleep with your father, and when you are ſober we will ſpeak to you.”

After this the *French* demanded me of the *Indians*. They ſaid it was a cuſtom among the white people when a meſſenger came, even if it was the Governor, to blind his eyes, and lead him into the fort, to a priſon, or private room. They, with ſome of the *Indians* inſiſted very much on my being ſent into the fort, but to no purpoſe ; for the other *Indians* ſaid to the *French* ; “ It may be a rule among you, but we have brought him here, that all the *Indians* might ſee him, and hear what our brothers the *Engliſh* have to ſay ; and we will not ſuffer him to be blinded and carried into the fort.” The *French* ſtill inſiſted on my being delivered to them ; but the *Indians* deſired them, to let them hear no more about it ; but to ſend them one hundred loaves of bread ; for they were hungry.

—25th. This morning early they ſent us over a large bullock, and all the *Indian* chiefs came over again, and counſelled a great deal among themſelves ; then the *Delaware*, that handled the old deaf *Onondago* Indian ſo roughly yeſterday, addreſſed himſelf to him, in this manner ; “ I hope, to day, you are ſober. I

VOL. II.

[57]

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* I. E. This *Engliſhman*.

† By father, they expreſs the *French*.

‡ By I, he here means, I, the Six Nations, of which the *Onondagoes* are one of the greateſt. This was, therefore, a claim of the *Ohio* lands, as belonging to the Six Nations, excluſive of the *Delawares*, whom they formerly called women.

§ The *Indians* ſmoke in their councils.

|| That is, the ſentiments you expreſs, are offenſive to the company.

am certain you did not know what you said yesterday. You endeavoured to frighten us; but know, *we are now men*, and not so easily frightened. You said something yesterday of the *Shawanese*; see here what they have sent you," (*presenting him with a large roll of tobacco.*)

Then the old deaf *Indian* rose up, and acknowledged he had been in the wrong; he said, that he had now *cleaned himself*,* and hoped they would forgive him.

Then the Delaware delivered the message, that was sent by the *Shawanese*, which was, "That they hoped the *Delawares*, &c. would be strong,† in what they were undertaking; that they were extremely proud to hear such good news from their brothers, the *English*; that whatever contracts they made with the *English*, the *Shawanese* would agree to; that they were their brothers, and that they loved them."

The *French* whispered to the *Indians*, as I imagined, to insist on my delivering what I had to say, on the other side of the water. Which they did to no purpose, for my company still insisted on a hearing on this side the water. The *Indians* crossed the river to council with their *Fathers*.‡ My company desired to know whether they would hear me or no. This afternoon three hundred *Canadians* arrived at the fort, and reported that six hundred more were soon to follow them, and forty battoes laden with ammunition. Some of my party desired me not to stir from the fire; for that the *French* had offered a great reward for my scalp, and that there were several parties out on that purpose. Accordingly I stuck constantly as close to the fire, as if I had been chained there.

——26th. The *Indians*, with a great many of the French officers, came over to hear what I had to say. The officers brought with them a table, pens, ink and paper. I spoke in the middle of them with a free conscience, and perceived by the look of the *French*, they were not pleased with what I said; the particulars of which were as follows; I spoke in the name of the government and people of *Pensilvania*.

"Brethren at Allegheny, We have a long time desired to see and hear from you; you know the road was quite stopt; and we did not know how to come through. We have sent many messengers to you; but we did not hear of you; now we are very glad

we

* That is, he had changed his offensive sentiments.

† That is, that they would act vigorously.

‡ The *French*, at the fort.

we have found an opening to come and see you, and to speak with you, and to hear your true mind and resolution. We salute you very heartily." A string, No. 1.

"Brethren at Allegheny, Take notice of what I say. You know that the bad spirit has brought something between us, that has kept us at a distance one from another; I now, by this belt, take every thing out of the way, that the bad spirit has brought between us, and all the jealousy and fearfulness we had of one another, and whatever else the bad spirit might have poisoned your heart and mind with, that nothing of it may be left. Moreover let us look up to God, and beg for his assistance, that he may put into our hearts what pleases him, and join us close in that brotherly love and friendship, which our grandfathers had. We assure you of our love towards you." A belt of eleven rows.

"Brothers at Allegheny, Hearken to what I say; we began to hear of you from *Wellemeghibink*, who returned from *Allegheny*. We heard you had but a slight confused account of us; and did not know of the peace, we made twelve months past, in *Easton*. It was then agreed, that the large belt of peace should be sent to you at *Allegheny*. As these our two old friends from *Allegheny*, who are well known to many here, found an opening to come to our council fire, to see with their own eyes, to sit with us face to face, to hear with their own ears, every thing that has been transacted between us; it gives me and all the people of the province great pleasure to see them among us. And I assure all my brethren at *Allegheny*, that nothing would please me, and all the people of the province better, than to see our countrymen the *Delawares* well settled among us." A belt.

"Hearken, my brethren at *Allegheny*. When we began to make peace with the *Delawares*, twelve months ago, in behalf of ten other nations, we opened a road, and cleared the bushes from the blood, and gathered all the bones, on both sides, together; and when we had brought them together, in one heap, we could find no place to bury them: we would not bury them as our grandfathers did. They buried them under ground, where they may be found again. We prayed to God, that he would have mercy on us, and take all these bones away from us, and hide them, that they might never be found any more; and take from both sides all the remembrance of them out of our heart and mind. And we have a firm confidence, that God will be pleased to take all the bones and hide them from us, that they may never be remembered by us, while we live, nor our children, nor grand children, hereafter. The hatchet was buried on both sides, and large belts of peace exchanged.

exchanged. Since we have cleared every thing from the heart, and taken every thing out of the way; now, my brethren at *Allegheny*, every one that hears me, if you will join with us, in that brotherly love and friendship, which our grand-fathers had, we assure you, that all past offences shall be forgotten, and never more talked of by us, our children and grand children hereafter. This belt assures you of our sincerity, and honest and upright heart towards you." A belt of seven rows.

"Hearken, brethren at *Allegheny*. I have told you that we really made peace with part of your nation, twelve months past; I now by this belt open the road from *Allegheny* to our council fire, where your grandfathers kept good councils with us, that all may pass without molestation or danger. You must be sensible, that unless a road be kept open, people at variance can never come together to make up their differences. Messengers are free in all nations throughout the world, by a particular token. Now, brethren at *Allegheny*, I desire you will join with me in keeping the road open, and let us know in what manner we may come free to you, and what the token shall be. I join both my hands to yours, and will do all in my power to keep the road open." A belt of seven rows.

"Now, brethren at *Allegheny*, Hear what I say. Every one that lays hold of this belt of peace, I proclaim peace to them from the *English* nation, and let you know that the great king of *England* does not incline to have war with the *Indians*; but he wants to live in peace and love with them, if they will lay down the hatchet, and leave off war against him."

"We love you farther, we let you know that the great king of *England* has sent a great number of warriors into this country, not to go to war against the *Indians*, in their towns, no, not at all; these warriors are going against the *French*; they are on the march to the *Ohio*, to revenge the blood they have shed. And by this belt I take you by the hand, and lead you at a distance from the *French*, for your own safety, that your legs may not be stained with blood. Come away on this side of the mountain, where we may oftener converse together, and where your own flesh and blood lives. We look upon you as our countrymen, that sprung out of the same ground with us; we think, therefore, that it is our duty to take care of you, and we in brotherly love advise you to come away with your whole nation, and as many of your friends as you can get to follow you. We do not come to hurt you, we love you, therefore we do not call you to war, that you may be slain; what benefit will it be to you to go to war with your own flesh and blood?

We

"We wish you may live without fear or danger with your women and children." The large peace belt.

"Brethren, I have almost finished what I had to say, and hope it will be to your satisfaction; my wish is, that we may join close together in that old brotherly love and friendship, which our grandfathers had; so that all the nations may hear and see us, and have the benefit of it; and if you have any uneasiness, or complaint, in your heart and mind, do not keep it to yourself. We have opened the road to the council fire, therefore, my brethren, come and acquaint the Governor with it; you will be readily heard, and full justice will be done you." A belt.

"Brethren, One thing I must bring to your remembrance. You know, if any body loses a little child, or some body takes it from him, he cannot be easy, he will think on his child by day and night; since our flesh and blood is in captivity, in the *Indian* towns, we desire you will rejoice the country's heart, and bring them to me; I shall stretch out my arms to receive you kindly." A string.

After I had done, I left my belts and strings still before them. The *Delawares* took them all up, and laid them before the *Mingoes*;* upon which they rose up, and spoke as follows:

"*Chau*, What I have heard pleases me well; I do not know why I go to war against the *English*. *Noques*, what do you think? You must be strong. I did not begin the war, therefore, I have little to say; but whatever you agree to, I will do the same." Then he addressed himself to the *Shawanese*, and said, "You brought the hatchet to us from the *French*, and persuaded us to strike our brothers the *English*; you may consider (laying the belts, &c. before them) wherefore you have done this."

The *Shawanese* acknowledged they received the hatchet from the *French*, who persuaded them to strike the *English*; that they would now send the belts to all the *Indians*, and in twelve days would meet again.

Present at this council, three hundred *French* and *Indians*. They all took leave, and went over again to the fort, but my companions, who were about seventy in number.

Shamokin Daniel, who came with me, went over to the fort by himself, (which my companions disapproved of) and counselled with the Governor; who presented him with a laced coat and hat, a blanket, shirts, ribbons, a new gun, powder, lead, &c. When he returned he was quite changed, and said, "See here, you fools,

* The Six Nations.

fools, what the *French* have given me. I was in *Philadelphia*, and never received a farthing;" and, directing himself to me, he said, "The *English* are fools, and so are you." In short, he behaved in a very proud, saucy and imperious manner. He further said, "The *English* never give the *Indians* any powder, and that the *French* would have given him a horse-load, if he would have taken it; see that young man there, he was in *Philadelphia* and never got any thing; I will take him over to the *French*, and get some cloathing for him."

Three *Indians* informed me, that as soon as the *French* got over, they called a council, with their own *Indians*, among whom there happened accidentally to be a *Delaware* captain, who was privately invited by one of his acquaintance to hear what the *French* had to say; and when they were assembled, the *French* spoke, as follows:

"My children, now we are alone, hearken to what I have to say. I perceive the *Delawares* are wavering; they incline to the *English*, and will be faithful to us no longer. Now all their chiefs are here, and but a handful, let us cut them off, and then we shall be troubled with them no longer." Then the *Tarwaas* answered, "No, we cannot do this thing; for though there is but a handful here, the *Delawares* are a strong people, and are spread to a great distance, and whatever they agree to must be."

This afternoon, in council, on the other side of the river, the *French* insisted that I must be delivered up to them, and that it was not lawful for me to go away; which occasioned a quarrel between them and the *Indians*, who immediately came away and crossed the river to me; and some of them let me know that *Daniel* had received a string from the *French*, to leave me there; but it was to no purpose, for they would not give their consent; and then agreed that I should set off before day the next morning.

—27th. Accordingly I set out before day, with six *Indians*, and took another road, that we might not be seen; the main body told me, they would stay behind, to know whether the *French* would make an attempt to take me by force; that if they did, they, the *Indians*, would endeavour to prevent their crossing the river, and coming secretly upon me. Just as I set off the *French* fired all their great guns, it being Sunday (I counted nineteen) and concluded they did the same every Sabbath. We passed through three *Shawanese* towns; the *Indians* appeared very proud to see me return, and we arrived about night at *Sawcunk*, where they were likewise very glad to see me return. Here I met with the two captains, who treated me so uncivilly before; they now received

received me very kindly, and accepted of my hand, and apologized for their former rude behaviour. Their names are *Kuckquetackton* and *Killbuck*. They said,

“ Brother, we, in behalf of the people of *Sawcunk*, desire that you will hold fast what you have begun, and be strong.* We are but little and poor, and therefore cannot do much. You are rich, and must go on and be strong. We have done all in our power towards bringing about a peace: we have had a great quarrel about you with the *French*; but we do not mind them. Do you make haste, and be strong, and let us see you again.” The said *Killbuck* is a great captain and conjurer; he desired me to mention him to the Governor, and ask him if he would be pleased to send him a good saddle by the next messenger; and that he would do all in his power for the service of the *English*.

—28th. We set out from *Sawcunk*, in company with twenty, for *Kushkushkee*; on the road *Shingas* addressed himself to me, and asked, if I did not think, that, if he came to the *English*, they would hang him, as they had offered a great reward for his head. He spoke in a very soft and easy manner. I told him that was a great while ago, it was all forgotten and wiped clean away; that the *English* would receive him very kindly. Then *Daniel* interrupted me, and said to *Shingas*, “ Do not believe him, he tells nothing but idle lying stories. Wherefore did the *English* hire one thousand two hundred *Indians*† to kill us.” I protested it was false; he said, G-d d-n‡ you for a fool; did you not see the woman lying in the road that was killed by the *Indians*, that the *English* hired? I said, “ Brother do consider how many thousand *Indians* the *French* have hired to kill the *English*, and how many they have killed along the frontiers.” Then *Daniel* said, “ D—n you, why do not you and the *French* fight on the sea? You come here only to cheat the poor *Indians*, and take their land from them.” Then *Shingas* told him to be still; for he did not know what he said. We arrived at *Kushkushkee* before night, and I informed *Pisquetumen* of *Daniel*’s behaviour, at which he appeared sorry.

—29th. I dined with *Shingas*; he told me, though the *English* had set a great price on his head, he had never thought to revenge himself, but was always very kind to any prisoners that were brought in; and that he assured the Governor, he would do all in his power to bring about an established peace, and wished he could be certain of the *English* being in earnest.

Then

* That is, go on steadily with this good work of establishing a peace.

† Meaning the *Cherokees*.

‡ Some of the first *English* speech, that the *Indians* learn from the traders, is swearing.

Then seven chiefs present said, when the Governor sends the next messenger, let him send two or three white men, at least, to confirm the thing, and not send such a man as *Daniel*; they did not understand him; he always speaks, said they, as if he was drunk; and if a great many of them had not known me, they should not know what to think; for every thing I said he contradicted. I assured them I would faithfully inform the Governor of what they said, and they should see, as messengers, otherguise *Indians* than *Daniel*, for the time to come; and I farther informed them, that he was not sent by the Governor, but came on his own accord; and I would endeavour to prevent his coming again. *Daniel* demanded of me his pay, and I gave him three dollars; and he took as much wampum from me as he pleased, and would not suffer me to count it. I imagined there was about two thousand.

About night, nine *Tawaas* past by here, in their way to the *French Fort*.

—30th and 31st. The *Indians* feasted greatly, during which time, I several times begged of them to consider and dispatch me.

September 1st. *Shingas*, King *Beaver*, *Delaware George*, and *Pisquetumen*, with several other captains said to me,

“Brother, We have thought a great deal since God has brought you to us; and this is a matter of great consequence, which we cannot readily answer; we think on it, and will answer you as soon as we can. Our feast hinders us; all our young men, women and children are glad to see you; before you came, they all agreed together to go and join the *French*; but since they have seen you, they all draw back; though we have great reason to believe you intend to drive us away, and settle the country; or else, why do you come to fight in the land that God has given us?”

I said, we did not intend to take the land from them; but only to drive the *French* away. They said, they knew better; for that they were informed so by our greatest traders; and some Justices of the Peace had told them the same, and the *French*, said they, tell us much the same thing,—“that the *English* intend to destroy us, and take our lands from us; but, that they are only come to defend us and our lands;” but the land is ours, and not theirs; therefore, we say, if you will be at peace with us, we will send the *French* home. It is you that have begun the war, and it is necessary that you hold fast, and be not discouraged, in the work of peace. We love you more than you love us; for when we take any prisoners from you, we treat them as our own children. We are poor, and yet we clothe them as well as we can, though you see our children are as naked as at the first. By this you may see that

that our hearts are better than yours. It is plain that you white people are the cause of this war; why do not you and the *French* fight in the old country, and on the sea? Why do you come to fight on our land? This makes every body believe, you want to take the land from us by force, and settle it.*

I told them, “Brothers, as for my part, I have not one foot of land, nor do I desire to have any; and if I had any land, I had rather give it to you, than take any from you. Yes, brothers, if I die, you will get a little more land from me; for I shall then no longer walk on that ground, which God has made. We told you that you should keep nothing in your heart, but bring it before the council fire, and before the Governor, and his council; they will readily hear you; and I promise you, what they answer they will stand to. I further read to you what agreements they made about *Wioming*,† and they stand to them.”

They said, “Brother, your heart is good, you speak always sincerely; but we know there are always a great number of people that want to get rich; they never have enough: look, we do not want to be rich, and take away that which others have. God has given you the tame creatures; we do not want to take them from you. God has given to us the deer, and other wild creatures, which we must feed on; and we rejoice in that which springs out of the ground, and thank God for it. Look now, my brother, the white people think we have no brains in our heads; but that they are great and big, and that makes them make war with us: we are but a little handful to what you are; but remember, when you look for a wild turkey you cannot always find it, it is so little it hides itself under the bushes: and when you hunt for a rattlesnake, you cannot find it; and perhaps it will bite you before you see it. However, since you are so great and big, and we so little, do you use your greatness and strength in completing this work of peace. This is the first time that we saw or heard of you, since the war begun, and we have great reason to think about it, since

VOL. II.

[58]

such

* The Indians, having plenty of land, are no niggards of it. They sometimes give large tracts to their friends freely; and when they sell it, they make most generous bargains. But some *fraudulent purchases*, in which they were grossly imposed on, and some *violent intrusions*, imprudently and wickedly made without purchase, have rendered them jealous that we intend finally to take all from them by force. We should endeavour to recover our credit with them by fair purchases and honest payments; and then there is no doubt but they will readily sell us, at reasonable rates, as much, from time to time, as we can possibly have occasion for.

† The agreement made with *Teedyuscung*, that he should enjoy the *Wioming* lands, and have houses built there for him and his people.

such a great body of you comes into our lands*. It is told us, that you and the *French* contrived the war, to waste the *Indians* between you; and that you and the *French* intended to divide the land between you: this was told us by the chief of the *Indian* traders; and they said further, brothers, this is the last time we shall come among you; for the *French* and *English* intend to kill all the *Indians*, and then divide the land among themselves.

Then they addressed themselves to me, and said, "Brother, I suppose you know something about it; or has the Governor stopped your mouth, that you cannot tell us?"

Then I said, "Brothers, I am very sorry to see you so jealous. I am your own flesh and blood, and sooner than I would tell you any story that would be of hurt to you, or your children, I would suffer death: and if I did not know that it was the desire of the Governor, that we should renew our old brotherly love and friendship, that subsisted between our grandfathers, I would not have undertaken this journey. I do assure you of mine and the people's honesty. If the *French* had not been here, the *English* would not have come; and consider, brothers, whether, in such a case, we can always sit still."

Then they said, "It is a thousand pities we did not know this sooner; if we had, it would have been peace long before now."

Then I said, "My brothers, I know you have been wrongly persuaded by many wicked people; for you must know, that there are a great many Papists in the country, in *French* interest, who appear like gentlemen, and have sent many runaway *Irish* papist servants† among you, who have put bad notions into your heads, and strengthened you against your brothers the *English*."

"Brothers, I beg that you would not believe every idle and false story, that ill-designing people may bring to you against us your brothers. Let us not hearken to what lying and foolish people may bring to you, against us your brothers. Let us not hearken to what lying and foolish people say, but let us hear what wise and good people say; they will tell us what is good for us and our children."

Mem. There are a great number of *Irish* traders now among the *Indians*, who have always endeavoured to spirit up the *Indians* against the *English*; which made some, that I was acquainted with from their infancy, desire the chiefs to enquire of me, for that they were certain I would speak the truth.

Pisquetumen

* The army under *General Forbes*.

† The *Indian* traders used to buy the transported *Irish*, and other convicts, as servants, to be employed in carrying up the goods among the *Indians*: many of those ran away from their masters, and joined the *Indians*. The ill behaviour of these people has always hurt the character of the *English* among the *Indians*.

Pisquetumen now told me, we could not go to the General, that it was very dangerous, the *French* having sent out several scouts to wait for me on the road. And further, *Pisquetumen* told me, it was a pity the Governor had no ear*, to bring him intelligence; that the *French* had three ears, whom they rewarded with great presents; and signified, that he and *Shingas* would be ears, at the service of his honour, if he pleased.

—2d. I bade *Shingas* to make haste and dispatch me, and once more desired to know of them, if it was possible for them to guide me to the General. Of all which they told me they would consider; and *Shingas* gave me his hand, and said, “Brother, the next time you come, I will return with you to *Philadelphia*, and will do all in my power to prevent any body’s coming to hurt the *English* more.”

—3d. To-day I found myself unwell, and made a little tea, which refreshed me: had many very pretty discourses with *George*. In the afternoon they called a council together, and gave me the following answer in council; the speaker addressing the Governor and people of *Pennsylvania*:

“Brethren, It is a great many days since we have seen and heard you.† I now speak to you in behalf of all the nations, that have heard you heretofore.

“Brethren, it is the first message which we have seen or heard from you. Brethren, you have talked of that peace and friendship which we had formerly with you. Brethren, we tell you to be strong, and always remember that friendship, which we had formerly. Brethren, we desire you would be strong, and let us once more hear of our good friendship and peace, we had formerly. Brethren, we desire that you make haste, and let us hear of you again; for, as yet, we have not heard you rightly.

Gives a string.

“Brethren, hear what I have to say: look, brethren, we, who have now seen and heard you, we, who are present, are part of all the several nations, that heard you some days ago; we see that you are sorry we have not that friendship, we formerly had.

“Look

* No spy among his enemies.

† That is, since we had a friendly intercourse with each other. The frequent repetition of the word, *Brethren*, is the effect of their rules of politeness, which enjoin, in all conversations, a constant remembrance of the relation subsisting between the parties, especially where that relation implies any affection, or respect. It is like the perpetual repetitions among us, of *Sir*, or, *Madam*, or, *Your Lordship*. In the same manner the *Indians* at every sentence repeat, *My Father*, *My Uncle*, *My Cousin*, *My Brother*, *My Friend*, &c.

“ Look, brethren, we at *Allegheny* are likewise sorry, we have not that friendship with you, which we formerly had. Brethren, we long for that peace and friendship we had formerly. Brethren, it is good that you desire that friendship, that was formerly among our fathers and grandfathers. Brethren, we will tell you, you must not let that friendship be quite lost, which was formerly between us.

“ Now, brethren, it is three years since we dropt that peace and friendship, which we formerly had with you. Brethren, it was dropt, and lay buried in the ground, where you and I stand, in the middle between us both. Brethren, I see you have digged up, and revived, that friendship, which was buried in the ground; and now you have it, hold it fast. Do be strong, brethren, and exert yourselves, that that friendship may be well established and finished between us. Brethren, if you will be strong, it is in your power to finish that peace and friendship well. Therefore, brethren, we desire you to be strong and establish it, and make known to all the *English* this peace and friendship, that it may embrace all and cover all. As you are of one nation and colour, in all the *English* governments, so let the peace be the same with all. Brethren, when you have finished this peace, which you have begun; when it is known every where amongst your brethren, and you have every where agreed together on this peace and friendship, then you will be pleased to send the great peace belt to us at *Allegheny*.

“ Brethren, when you have settled this peace and friendship, and finished it well, and you send the great peace-belt to me, I will send it to all the nations of my colour, they will all join to it, and we all will hold it fast.

“ Brethren, when all the nations join to this friendship, then the day will begin to shine clear over us. When we hear once more of you, and we join together, then the day will be still, and no wind, or storm, will come over us, to disturb us.

“ Now, brethren, you know our hearts, and what we have to say; be strong; if you do what we have now told you, and in this peace all the nations agree to join. Now, brethren, let the king of *England* know what our mind is as soon as possibly you can.”*
Gives a belt of eight rows.

I received

* In this speech the *Indians* carefully guard the honour of their nation, by frequently intimating, that the peace is sought by the *English*: you have talked of peace: you are sorry for the war: you have digged up the peace, that was buried, &c. Then they declare their readiness to grant peace, if the *English* agree to its being general for all the colonies. The *Indian* word, that is translated, be strong, so often repeated,

I received the above speech and belt from the underwritten, who are all captains and counsellors.

BEAVER, KING,
DELAWARE GEORGE,
PISQUETUMEN,
TASUCAMIN,
AWAKANOMIN,
CUSHAWMEKWY,
KEYHEY NAPALIN,

CAPTAIN PETER,
MACOMAL,
POPAUCE,
WASHAOCATAUT,
COCHQUACAUCHEHLTON,
JOHN HICKOMEN, and
KILL BUCK.

Delaware George spoke as follows:

“ Look, brothers, we are here of three different nations. I am of the *Unami* nation: I have heard all the speeches that you have made to us with the many other nations.

“ Brothers, you did let us know, that every one that takes hold of this peace-belt, you would take them by the hand, and lead them to the council fire, where our grandfathers kept good councils. So soon as I heard this, I took hold of it.

“ Brother, I now let you know that my heart never was parted from you. I am sorry that I should make friendship with the *French* against the *English*. I now assure you my heart sticks close to the English interest. One of our great captains, when he heard it, immediately took hold of it as well as myself. Now, Brother, I let you know that you shall soon see me by your council fire, and then I shall hear from you myself, the plain truth, in every respect.

“ I love that which is good, like as our grandfathers did: they chose to speak the sentiments of their mind: all the *Five Nations* know me, and know that I always spoke truth; and so you shall find, when I come to your council fire.” Gives a string.

The above *Delaware George* had in company with him,

CUSHAWMEKWY,
KEHKEHNOPATIN,
CAPTAIN PETER,

JOHN PETER,
STINFEOUR.

—4th. Present, *Shingas*, King *Beaver*, *Pisquetumen*, and several others. I asked what they meant by saying, “ *They had not rightly heard me yet.*” They said,

“ Brother,

is an expression they use to spirit up persons, who have undertaken some difficult task, as to lift, or move, a great weight, or execute a difficult enterprize; nearly equivalent to our word, *courage! courage!*

“ Brother, you very well know that you have collected all your young men about the country, which makes a large body ;* and now they are standing *before our doors* ;† you come with good news, and fine speeches. Brother, this is what makes us jealous, and we do not know what to think of it : if you had brought the news of peace before your army had begun to march, it would have caused a great deal more good. We do not so readily believe you, because a great many great men and traders have told us, long before the war, that you and the *French* intended to join and cut all the *Indians* off. These were people of your own colour, and your own countrymen ; and some told us to join the *French* ; for that they would be our fathers : besides, many runaways have told us the same story ; and some we took prisoners told us how you would use us, if you caught us : therefore, brother, I say, we cannot conclude, at this time, but must see and hear you once more.” And further they said,

“ Now, brother, you are here with us, you are our flesh and blood, speak from the bottom of your heart, will not the *French* and *English* join together to cut off the *Indians* ? Speak, brother, from your heart, and tell us the truth, and let us know who were the beginners of the war.”

Then I delivered myself thus :

“ Brothers, I love you from the bottom of my heart. I am extremely sorry to see the jealousy so deeply rooted in your hearts and minds. I have told you the truth ; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hundred times, it seems you would not rightly believe me. My *Indian* brothers, I wish you would draw your hearts to God, that he may convince you of the truth.

“ I do now declare, before God, that the *English* never did, nor never will, join with the *French* to destroy you. As far as I know, the *French* are the beginners of this war. Brothers, about twelve years ago, you may remember, they had war with the *English*, and they both agreed to articles of peace. The *English* gave up *Cape Breton* in *Acadia*, but the *French* never gave up the part of that country, which they had agreed to give up ; and, in a very little time, made their *Children* strike the *English*. This was the first cause of the war. Now, brothers ; if any body strike you three times, one after another, you still sit still and consider : they strike you again, then, my brothers, you say, it is time, and you will rise up to defend yourselves. Now, my brothers, this is exactly the case between the *French* and *English*. Consider farther,
my

* Meaning General Forbes's army.

† I, E. Just ready to enter our country.

my brothers, what a great number of our poor back inhabitants have been killed since the *French* came to the *Ohio*. The *French* are the cause of their death, and if they were not there, the *English* would not trouble themselves to go there. They go no where to war, but where the *French* are. Those wicked people that set you at variance with the *English*, by telling you many wicked stories, are papists in *French* pay: besides, there are many among us, in the *French* service, who appear like gentlemen, and buy Irish papist servants, and promise them great rewards to run away to you and strengthen you against the *English*, by making them appear as black as devils."

This day arrived here two hundred *French* and *Indians*, on their way to *fort Duquesne*. They staid all night. In the middle of the night king *Beaver's* daughter died, on which a great many guns were fired in the town.

—5th. It made a general stop in my journey. The *French* said to their Children, they should catch me privately, or get my scalp. The commander wanted to examine me, as he was going to *fort Duquesne*. When they told me of it, I said, as he was going to *fort Duquesne*, he might enquire about me there: I had nothing at all to say, or do with the *French*: they would tell them every particular they wanted to know in the fort. They all came into the house where I was, as if they would see a new creature.

In the afternoon there came six *Indians*, and brought three German prisoners, and two scalps of the *Catabaws*.

As *Daniel* blamed the *English*, that they never paid him for his trouble, I asked him whether he was pleased with what I paid him. He said, no. I said, "Brother, you took as much as you pleased." I asked you, whether you was satisfied; you said, yes. I told him, I was ashamed to hear him blame the country so. I told him, "You shall have for this journey whatever you desire, when I reach the inhabitants."

—6th. *Pisquetumen*, *Tom Hickman* and *Shingas* told me,

"Brother, it is good that you have staid so long with us; we love to see you, and wish to see you here longer; but since you are so desirous to go, you may set off to morrow: *Pisquetumen* has brought you here, and he may carry you home again: you have seen us, and we have talked a great deal together, which we have not done for a long time before. Now, Brother, we love you, but cannot help wondering why the *English* and *French* do not make up with one another, and tell one another not to fight on our land."

I told

I told them, "Brother, if the *English* told the *French* so a thousand times, they never would go away. Brother, you know so long as the world has stood there has not been such a war. You know when the *French* lived on the other side, the war was there, and here we lived in peace. Consider how many thousand men are killed, and how many houses are burned since the *French* lived here; if they had not been here it would not have been so; you know we do not blame you; we blame the *French*; they are the cause of this war; therefore, we do not come to hurt you, but to chastise the *French*."

They told me, that at the great council, held at *Onondago*, among the *Five Nations*, before the war began (*Conrad Weiser* was there, and wrote every thing down) it was said to the *Indians* at the *Ohio*, that they should let the *French* alone there, and leave it entirely to the *Five Nations*; the *Five Nations* would know what to do with them. Yet soon after two hundred *French* and *Indians* came and built *Fort Duquesne*.

King *Beaver* and *Shingas* spoke to *Pisquetumen*,

"Brother, you told us that the Governor of *Philadelphia* and *Teedyuscung* took this man out of their bosoms, and put him into your bosom, that you should bring him here; and you have brought him here to us; and we have seen and heard him; and now we give him into your bosom, to bring him to the same place again, before the Governor; but do not let him quite loose; we shall rejoice when we shall see him here again." They desired me to speak to the Governor, in their behalf, as follows:

"Brother, we beg you to remember our oldest brother, *Pisquetumen*, and furnish him with good cloathes, and reward him well for his trouble; for we all shall look upon him when he comes back."

——7th. When we were ready to go, they began to council which course we should go, to be safest; and then they hunted for the horses, but could not find them; and so we lost that days' journey.

It is a troublesome cross and heavy yoke to draw this people: They can punish and squeeze a body's heart to the utmost. I suspect the reason they kept me here so long was by instigation of the *French*. I remember somebody told me, the *French* told them to keep me twelve days longer, for that they were afraid I should get back too soon, and give information to the general. My heart has been very heavy here, because they kept me for no purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my life; but they did not know who was my protector and deliverer: I believe
my

my Lord has been too strong against them; my enemies have done what lies in their power.

——8th. We prepared for our journey on the morning, and made ourselves ready. There came some together and examined me what I had wrote yesterday. I told them, I wondered what need they had to concern themselves about my writing. They said, if they knew I had wrote about the prisoners, they would not let me go out of the town. I told them what I writ was my duty to do. “Brothers, I tell you, I am not afraid of you, if there were a thousand more. I have a good conscience before God and man. I tell you I have wrote nothing about the prisoners. I tell you, Brothers, this is not good; there’s a bad spirit in your heart, which breeds that jealousy; and it will keep you ever in fear, that you will never get rest. I beg you would pray to God, for grace to resist that wicked spirit, that breeds such wicked jealousies in you; which is the reason you have kept me here so long. How often have I begged of you to dispatch me? I am ashamed to see you so jealous; I am not, in the least, afraid of you. Have I not brought writings to you? and what, do you think I must not carry some home, to the Governor? or, shall I shut my mouth, and say nothing? Look into your own hearts, and see if it would be right or wrong, if any body gives a salutation to their friends, and it is not returned in the same way. You told me many times how kind you were to the prisoners, and now you are afraid that any of them should speak to me.”

They told me, they had cause to be afraid; and then made a draught, and shewed me how they were surrounded with war. Then I told them, if they would be quiet, and keep at a distance, they need not fear. Then they went away, very much ashamed, one after another. I told my men, that we must make haste and go; and accordingly we set off, in the afternoon, from *Kushkush-kee*, and came ten miles.

——9th. We took a little foot-path hardly to be seen. We lost it, and went through thick bushes, till we came to a mire, which we did not see, till we were in it; and *Tom Hickman* fell in, and almost broke his leg. We had hard work before we could get the horse out again. The Lord helped me, that I got safe from my horse. I and *Pisquetumen* had enough to do to come through. We passed many such places: it rained all day; and we got a double portion of it, because we received all that hung on the bushes. We were as wet as if we were swimming all the day; and at night we laid ourselves down in a swampy place to sleep, where we had nothing but the heavens for our covering.

——10th. We had but little to live on. *Tom Hickman* shot a deer on the road. Every thing here, upon the *Ohio*, is extremely dear, much more so than in *Pennsylvania*: I gave for one dish of corn four hundred and sixty *wampum*. They told me that the Governor of *fort Duquesne* kept a store of his own, and that all the *Indians* must come and buy the goods of him; and when they come and buy, he tells them, if they will go to war, they shall have as much goods as they please. Before I set off, I heard further, that a *French* captain who goes to all the *Indian* towns* came to *Sacunck*, and said, “Children, will you not come and help your father against the *English*?” They answered, “Why should we go to war against our brethren? They are now our friends.” “O! Children,” said he, “I hope you do not own them for friends.” “Yes,” said they, “We do; we are their friends, and we hope they will remain ours.” “O! Children,” said he, you must not believe what you have heard, and what has been told you by that man.” They said to him, “Yes, we do believe him more than we do you: it was you that set us against them; and we will by and by have peace with them:” and then he spoke not a word more, but returned to the fort. So, I hope, some good is done: praised be the name of the Lord.

——11th. Being Monday, we went over *Antigoc*: we went down a very steep hill, and our horses slipped so far, that I expected, every moment, they would fall heels over head. We found fresh *Indian* tracks on the other side of the river. We crossed *Allegheny* river, and went through the bushes upon a high hill, and slept upon the side of the mountain, without fire, for fear of the enemy. It was a cold night, and I had but a thin blanket to cover myself.

——12th. We made a little fire, to warm ourselves in the morning. Our horses began to be weary with climbing up and down these steep mountains. We came this night to the top of a mountain, where we found a log-house. Here we made a small fire, just to boil ourselves a little victuals. The *Indians* were very much afraid, and lay with their guns and tomhocks on all night. They heard somebody run and whisper in the night. I slept very sound, and in the morning they asked me, if I was not afraid the enemy *Indians* would kill me. I said, “No, I am not afraid of the *Indians*, nor the devil himself: I fear my great Creator, God.” “Aye, they said, you know you will go to a good place when you die, but we do not know that: that makes us afraid.”

——13th. In

* He was sent to collect the *Indians* together, to attack General Forbes's army, once more, on their march.

——13th. In the afternoon we twice crossed *Chowatin*, and came to *Ponchestanning*, an old deserted *Indian* town, that lies on the same creek. We went through a bad swamp, where were very thick sharp thorns, so that they tore our cloaths and flesh, both hands and face, to a bad degree. We had this kind of road all the day. In the evening we made a fire, and then they heard something rush, in the bushes, as though they heard somebody walk. Then we went about three gun-shot from our fire, and could not find a place to lie down on, for the innumerable rocks; so that we were obliged to get small stones to fill up the hollow places in the rocks, for our bed; but it was very uneasy; almost shirt and skin grew together. They kept watch one after another all night.

——14th. In the morning, I asked them what made them afraid. They said, I knew nothing; the *French* had set a great price on my head; and they knew there was gone out a great scout to lie in wait for me. We went over great mountains and a very bad road.

——15th. We came to *Susquehanna*, and crossed it six times, and came to *Catawaweshink*, where had been an old *Indian* town. In the evening there came three *Indians*, and said they saw two *Indian* tracks, which came to the place where we slept, and turned back, as if to give information of us to a party; so that we were sure they followed us.

——16th and 17th. We crossed the mountain.

——18th. Came to the *Big Island*, where having nothing to live on, we were obliged to stay to hunt.

——19th. We met 20 warriors, who were returning from the inhabitants, with five prisoners and one scalp; six of them were *Delawares*, the rest *Mingoes*. We sat down all in one ring together. I informed them where I had been, and what was done; they asked me to go back a little, and so I did, and slept all night with them. I informed them of the particulars of the peace proposed; they said, "If they had known so much before, they would not have gone to war. Be strong; if you make a good peace, then we will bring all the prisoners back again." They killed two deer, and gave me one.

——20th. We took leave of each other, and went on our journey, and arrived the 22d at *fort Augusta*, in the afternoon, very weary and hungry; but greatly rejoiced of our return from this tedious journey.

There

There is not a prouder, or more high minded people, in themselves, than the Indians. They think themselves the wisest and prudentest men in the world; and that they can over-power both the *French* and *English* when they please. The white people are, in their eyes, nothing at all. They say, that through their conjuring craft they can do what they please, and nothing can withstand them. In their way of fighting they have this method, to see that they first shoot the officers and commanders; and then, they say, we shall be sure to have them. They also say, that if their conjurers run through the middle of our people, no bullet can hurt them. They say too, that when they have shot the commanders, the soldiers will all be confused, and will not know what to do. They say of themselves, that every one of them is like a king and captain, and fights for himself. By this way they imagine they can overthrow any body of men, that may come against them. They say, "The *English* people are fools; they hold their guns half man high, and then let them snap: we take sight and have them at a shot, and so do the *French*; they do not only shoot with a bullet, but big swan shot." They say, the French load with a bullet and six swan-shot. They further say, "We take care to have the first shot at our enemies, and then they are half dead before they begin to fight."

The *Indians* are a people full of jealousy, and will not easily trust any body; and they are very easily affronted, and brought into jealousy; then afterwards they will have nothing at all to do with those they suspect; and it is not brought so easy out of their minds; they keep it to their graves, and leave the seed of it in their children and grand children's minds; so, if they can, they will revenge themselves for every imagined injury. They are a very distrustful people. Through their imagination and reason they think themselves a thousand times stronger than all other people. *Fort du Quesne* is said to be undermined. The *French* have given out, that, if we overpower them, and they should die, we should certainly all die with them. When I came to the fort, the garrison, it was said, consisted of about one thousand four hundred men; and I am told they will now be full three thousand *French* and *Indians*. They are almost all *Canadians*, and will certainly meet the general before he comes to the fort, in an ambush. You may depend upon it the *French* will make no open field-battle, as in the old country, but lie in ambush. The *Canadians* are all hunters. The *Indians* have agreed to draw back; but how far we may give credit to their promises the Lord knows. It is the best way to be on our guard against them, as if they really could with one thousand overpower eight thousand.

Thirty-two nights I lay in the woods; the heavens were my covering. The dew came so hard sometimes, that it pinched close to the skin. There was nothing that laid so heavy on my heart, as the man that went along with me. He thwarted me in every thing I said or did; not that he did it against me, but against the country, on whose business I was sent: I was afraid he would overthrow what I went about. When he was with the *English* he would speak against the *French*, and when with the *French* against the *English*. The *Indians* observed that he was a false fellow, and desired me, that I would not bring him any more, to transact any business between the *English* and them; and told me, it was through his means I could not have the liberty to talk with the prisoners.

Praise and glory be to the *Lamb*, that has been slain, and brought me through the country of dreadful jealousy and mistrust, where the prince of this world has his rule and government over the children of disobedience.

The Lord has preserved me through all the dangers and difficulties, that I have ever been under. He directed me according to his will, by his holy spirit. I had no one to converse with but him. He brought me under a thick, heavy, and dark cloud, into the open air; for which I adore, praise and worship the Lord my God, that I know has grasped me in his hands, and has forgiven me for all sins, and sent and washed my heart with his most precious blood; that I now live not for myself, but for him that made me; and to do his holy will is my pleasure. I own that, in the children of light, there dwells another kind of spirit, than there does in the children of this world; therefore, these two spirits cannot rightly agree in fellowship.

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST.

No. IX.

The second journal of Christian Frederick Post, on a message from the Governor of Pennsylvania, to the Indians on the Ohio, in the latter part of the same year :

Containing his further negotiation with these people, to accomplish the design of his former journey, and procure a peace with them ; in which he met with fresh difficulties and dangers, occasioned by the French influence, &c.

But the Indians, being acquainted with his honest simplicity, and calling to mind their former friendship with the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, so far paid a regard to his sincerity, as to listen to the terms proposed ; and in consequence thereof the French were obliged to abandon the whole Ohio country to General Forbes, after destroying with their own hands their strong fort of Duquesne.

October 25th, 1758. **H**AVING received the orders of the honourable Governor Denny, I set out from *Easton* to *Bethlehem*, and arrived there about three o'clock in the afternoon ; I was employed most of the night, in preparing myself with necessaries, &c. for the journey.

——26th. Rose early, but my horse being lame, though I travelled all the day, I could not, till after night, reach to an inn, about ten miles from *Reading*.

——27th. I set out early, and about seven o'clock in the morning came to *Reading*, and there found Captain *Bull*, Mr. *Hays*, and the *Indians* just mounted, and ready to set out on their journey ; they were heartily glad to see me ; *Pisquetomen* stretched out his arms, and said, “ Now, Brother, I am glad I have got you in my arms, I will not let you go, I will not let your go again from me, you must go with me :” and I likewise said the same to him, and told him, “ I will accompany you, if you will go the same way as I must go.” And then I called them together, in Mr. *Weiser*'s house, and read a letter to them, which I had received from the Governor, which is as follows, viz,

“ To

“ To *Pisquetomen* and *Thomas Hickman*, to *Totiniontonna* and *Shickalamy*, and to *Isaac Still*.

“ Brethen, Mr. *Frederick Post* is come exprefs from the general, who fends his compliments to you, and defires you would come by the way of his camp, and give him an opportunity of talking with you.

“ By this ftring of wampum I request of you to alter your intended rout by way of *Shamokin*, and to go to the general, who will give you a kind reception. It is a nigher way, in which you will be better fupplied with provifions, and can travel with lefs fatigue and more fafety.

“ WILLIAM DENNY.

“ *Easton*, *October 23d.* 1758.

To which I added, “ Brethren, I take you by this ftring,* by the hand, and lift you from this place, and lead you along to the general.”

After which they confulted among themfelves, and foon refolved to go with me. We fhook hands with each other, and Mr. Hays immediately fet out with them; after which, having with fome difficulty procured a frefh horfe, in the king’s fervice, I fet off about noon with captain *Bull*; and when we came to *Conrad Weifer’s* plantation, we found *Pisquetomen* lying on the ground very drunk,† which obliged us to ftay there all night; the other *Indians* were gone eight miles farther on their journey.

—28th. We rofe early, and I fpoke to *Pisquetomen* a great deal; he was very fick, and could hardly ftir; when we overtook the reft, we found them in the fame condition; and they feemed difcouraged, from going the way to the general; and wanted to go through the woods. I told them, I was forry to fee them wavering, and reminded them, that when I went to their towns, I was not fent to the *French*, but when your old men infifted on my going to them, I followed their advice, and went; and as the general is, in the king’s name, over the provinces, in matters of war
and

* A ftring of *wampum* beads. Nothing of importance is faid, or propofed without *wampum*.

† The *Indians*, having learned drunkennefs of the white people, do not reckon it among the vices. They all, without exception, and without fhame, practice it when they can get ftrong liquor. It does not, among them, hurt the character of the greateft warrior, the greateft counfellor, or the modefteft matron. It is not fo much an offence, as an *excufe* for other offences; the injuries they do each other in their drink being charged, not upon the man, but upon the rum.

and peace, and the *Indians*, at *Allegheny**, want to know, whether all the *English* governments will join in the peace with them; the way to obtain full satisfaction is to go to him, and there you will receive another great belt to carry home; which I desire you seriously to take into consideration. They then resolved to go to *Harris's* ferry, and consider about it as they went;—we arrived there late in the night.

—29th. In the morning, the two *Cayugas* being most desirous of going through the woods, the others continued irresolute †; upon which I told them, “I wish you would go with good courage, and with hearty resolution,” and repeated what I had said to them yesterday, and reminded them, as they were messengers, they should consider what would be the best for their whole nation; “consult among yourselves, and let me know your true mind and determination;” and I informed them, I could not go with them, unless they would go to the general, as I had messages to deliver him. After which, having consulted together, *Pesquitomen* came and gave me his hand, and said, “Brother, here is my hand, we have all joined to go with you, and we put ourselves under your protection to bring us safe through, and to secure us from all danger.” We came that night to *Carlisle* and found a small house without the fort, for the *Indians* to be by themselves, and hired a woman to dress their victuals, which pleased them well.

—30th. Setting out early, we came to *Shippensburg*, and were lodged in the fort, where the *Indians* had a house to themselves.

—31st. Set out early; in our passing by *Chambers* Fort, some of the *Irish* people, knowing some of the *Indians*, in a rash manner exclaimed against them, and we had some difficulty to get them off clear. At fort *Loudon* we met about sixteen of the *Cherokees*, who came in a friendly manner to our *Indians*, enquiring for *Bill Sockum*, and shewed the pipe ‡ they had received from the *Shawanese*, and gave it, according to their custom, to smook out of, and said, they hoped they were friends of the *English*. They knew me. *Pesquitomen* begged me to give him some *wampum*, that he might speak to them: I gave him 400 white *wampum*, and he then said to them:—“We formerly had friendship one with another; we are only messengers, and cannot say much, but by these strings we let you know we are friends, and we are about settling a peace with the *English*, and wish to be at peace also with you, and all other

* The Ohio.

† They were afraid of going where our people were all in arms, lest some of the indiscreet soldiers might kill them.

‡ A calumet pipe; the signal of peace.

other *Indians*.”—And informed them further, they came from a treaty, which was held at *Easton*, between the *Eight United Nations*, and their confederates, and the *English*; in which peace was established; and shewed them the two messengers from the *Five Nations*, who were going, with them, to make it known to all the *Indians* to the westward. Then the *Cherokees* answered and said; “they should be glad to know how far the friendship was to reach; they, for themselves, wished it might reach from the sun-rise to the sun-set; for, as they were in friendship with the *English*, they would be at peace with all their friends, and at war with their enemies.”

Nov. 1. We reached fort *Littleton*, in company with the *Cherokees*, and were lodged, in the fort; they, and our *Indians*, in distinct places; and they entertained each other with stories of their warlike adventures.

—2d. *Pesquitomen* said to me, “you have led us this way, through the fire; if any mischief should befall us, we shall lay it entirely to you; for we think it was your doing, to bring us this way; you should have told us at *Easton*, if it was necessary we should go to the general.”

I told him, “that I had informed the great men, at *Easton*, that I then thought it would be best not to let them go from thence, till they had seen the general’s letter; and assured them that it was agreeable to the general’s pleasure.”

—3d. *Pesquitomen* began to argue with captain *Bull* and Mr. *Hays*, upon the same subject, as they did with me, when I went to them with my first message; which was, “that they should tell them, whether the general would claim the land as his own, when he should drive the *French* away? or, whether the *English* thought to settle the country? We are always jealous the *English* will take the land from us. Look, brother, what makes you come with such a large body of men, and make such large roads into our country; we could drive away the *French* ourselves, without your coming into our country.”

Then I desired captain *Bull* and Mr. *Hays* to be careful how they argued with the *Indians*; and be sure to say nothing, that might affront them; for it may prove to our disadvantage, when we come amongst them. This day we came to *Rays-town*, and with much difficulty got a place to lodge the *Indians* by themselves, to their satisfaction.

—4th. We intended to set out, but our *Indians* told us, the *Cherokees* had desired them to stay that day, as they intended to hold a council; and they desired us to read over to them the go-

vernor's message ; which we accordingly did. *Pesquitomen*, finding *Jenny Frazer* there, who had been their prisoner, and escaped, spoke to her a little rashly. Our *Indians*, waiting all the day, and the *Cherokees* not sending to them, were displeased.

——5th. Rose early, and, it raining smartly, we asked our *Indians*, if they would go ; which they took time to consult about.

The *Cherokees* came and told them, the *English* had killed about thirty of their people, for taking some horses ; which they resented much ; and told our *Indians* they had better go home, than go any farther with us, lest they should meet with the same. On hearing this, I told them how I had heard it happened ; upon which our *Indians* said, they had behaved like fools, and brought the mischief on themselves.

Pesquitomen, before we went from hence, made it up with *Jenny Frazer*, and they parted good friends ; and though it rained hard, we set out at 10 o'clock, and got to the foot of the *Alleghenny*, and lodged at the first run of water.

——6th. One of our horses went back ; we hunted a good while for him. Then we set off, and found one of the worst roads that ever was travelled until *Stoney creek*. Upon the road we overtook a great number of pack horses ; whereon *Pesquitomen* said, “Brother, now you see, if you had not come to us before, this road would not be so safe as it is ; now you see, we could have destroyed all this people on the road, and great mischief would have been done, if you had not stopt, and drawn our people back.”—We were informed that the general was not yet gone to fort *Duquesne*, wherefore *Pesquitomen* said, he was glad, and expressed, “If I can come to our towns before the general begins the attack, I know our people will draw back, and leave the *French*.”—We lodged this night at *Stoney creek*.

——7th. We arose early, and made all the haste we could on our journey ; we crossed the large creek, *Rekempalin*, near *Lawrel hill*. Upon this hill we overtook the artillery ; and came, before sun set, to *Loyal Hanning*. We were gladly received in the camp by the general, and most of the people. We made our fire near the other *Indian* camps ; which pleased our people. Soon after some of the officers came, and spoke very rashly to our *Indians*, in respect to their conduct to our people ; at which they were much displeased, and answered as rashly, and said, “they did not understand such usage ; for they were come upon a message of peace ; if we had a mind to war, they knew how to help themselves ; and that they were not afraid of us.”

——8th. At

—8th. At eleven o'clock the general called the *Indians* together, the *Cherokees* and *Catawbas* being present; he spake to them in a kind and loving manner, and bid them heartily welcome to his camp, and expressed his joy to see them, and desired them to give his compliments to all their kings and captains:—He desired them that had any love for the *English* nation, to withdraw from the *French*; for if he should find them among the *French*, he must treat them as enemies, as he should advance with a large army very soon, and cannot wait longer on account of the winter season. After that he drank the king's health, and all that wish well to the *English* nation; then he drank king *Beaver's*, *Shingas'*, and all the warrior's healths, and recommended us (the messengers) to their care; and desired them to give credit to what we should say. After that we went to another house with the general alone; and he shewed them the belt, and said, he would furnish them with a writing, for both the belt and string; and after a little discourse more, our *Indians* parted in love, and well satisfied. And we made all necessary preparation for our journey.

—9th. Some of the colonels and chief commanders wondered how I came through so many difficulties, and how I could rule and bring these people to reason, making no use of gun or sword. I told them, it is done by no other means than by faith. Then they asked me, if I had faith to venture myself to come safe through with my companions. I told them, it was in my heart to pray for them, "you know that the Lord has given many promises to his servants, and what he promises, you may depend upon, he will perform."—Then they wished us good success. We waited till almost noon for the writing of the general. We were escorted by an hundred men, rank and file, commanded by captain *Haselet*; we passed through a tract of good land, about six miles on the old trading path, and came to the creek again, where there is a large fine bottom, well timbered; from thence we came upon a hill, to an advanced breast work, about ten miles from the camp, well situated for strength, facing a small branch of the aforesaid creek; the hill is steep down, perpendicular about twenty feet, on the south side; which is a great defence; and on the west side the breast-work about seven feet high, where we encamped that night: Our *Indian* companions heard that we were to part in the morning, and that twelve men were to be sent with us, and the others, part of the company, to go towards fort *Duquesne*. Our *Indians* desired that the captain would send twenty men, instead of twelve; that if any accident should happen, they could be more able to defend themselves in returning back; "for we know, say they, the enemy will follow the smallest party." It began to rain. Within

Within five miles from the breast-work we departed from captain *Haselet*; he kept the old trading path to the *Ohio*. Lieutenant *Hays* was ordered to accompany us to the *Alleghenny* river* with fourteen men. We went the path that leads along the *Loyal Hanning* creek, where there is a rich fine bottom, land well timbered, good springs and small creeks. At four o'clock we were alarmed by three men, in *Indian* dress; and preparation was made on both sides, for defence. *Isaac Still* shewed a white token, and *Pesquitomen* gave an *Indian halloo*; after which they threw down their bundles, and ran away as fast as they could. We afterwards took up their bundles, and found that it was a small party of our men, that had been long out. We were sorry that we had scared them; for they lost their bundles with all their food. Then, I held a conference with our *Indians*, and asked them, if it would not be good, to send one of our *Indians* to *Logstown* and *fort Duquesne*, and call the *Indians* from thence, before we arrive at *Kushkush-king*. They all agreed it would not be good, as they were but messengers; it must be done by their chief men. The wolves made a terrible music this night.

——11th. We started early, and came to the old *Shawanese* town, called *Keckkeknepolin*, grown up thick with weeds, briars and bushes, that we scarcely could get through. *Pesquitomen* led us upon a steep hill, that our horses could hardly get up; and *Thomas Hickman's* horse tumbled, and rolled down the hill like a wheel; on which he grew angry, and would go no further with us, and said, he would go by himself: It happened we found a path on the top of the hill. At three o'clock we came to *Kiskemeneco*, an old *Indian* town, a rich bottom, well timbered, good fine *English* grass, well watered, and lays waste since the war began. We let our horses feed here, and agreed that lieutenant *Hays* might go back with his party; and as they were short of provisions, we, therefore, gave them a little of ours, which they took very kind of us. *Thomas Hickman* could find no other road, and came to us again a little ashamed; we were glad to see him; and we went about three miles farther, where we made a large fire. Here the *Indians* looked over their presents, and grumbled at me; they thought, if they had gone the other way by *Shamokin*, they would have got more. Captain Bull spoke in their favour against me. Then I said to them, "I am ashamed to see you grumble about presents; I thought you were sent to establish a peace." Though I confess I was not pleased that the *Indians* were so slightly fitted out from *Easton*, as the general had nothing to give

* The *Ohio*, as it is called by the *Sennecas*. *Alleghenny* is the name of the same river in the *Delaware* language. Both words signify the fine, or fair river.

give them, in the critical circumstances he was in, fit for their purpose.

—12th. Early in the morning, I spoke to the *Indians* of my company, “Brethren, you have now passed through the heart of the country back and forward, likewise through the midst of the army, without any difficulty or danger; you have seen and heard a great deal. When I was among you, at *Alleghenny*, you told me, I should not regard what the common people would say, but only hearken to the chiefs; I should take no bad stories along. I did accordingly; and when I left *Alleghenny* I dropt all evil reports, and only carried the agreeable news, which was pleasing to all that heard it. Now, brethren, I beg of you to do the same, and to drop all evil reports, which you may have heard of bad people, and only to observe and keep what you have heard of our rulers, and the wise people, so that all your young men, women and children, may rejoice at our coming to them, and may have the benefit of it.”

They took it very kindly. After awhile they spoke in the following manner to us, and said, “Brethren, when you come to *Kushkushking*, you must not mind the prisoners, and have nothing to do with them. Mr. *Post*, when he was first there, listened too much to the prisoners; the *Indians* were almost mad with him for it, and would have confined him for it; for, they said, he had wrote something of them.”

As we were hunting for our horses, we found *Thomas Hickman's* horse dead, which rolled yesterday down the hill. At one o'clock we came to the *Alleghenny*, to an old *Shawano* town, situated under a high hill on the east, opposite an island of about one hundred acres, very rich land, well timbered. We looked for a place to cross the river, but in vain; we then went smartly to work, and made a raft; we cut the wood, and carried it to the water side. The wolves and owls made a great noise in the night.

—13th. We got up early, and boiled some chocolate for breakfast, and then began to finish our rafts; we cloathed ourselves as well as we could in *Indian* drefs; it was about two o'clock in the afternoon, before we all got over to the other side, near an old *Indian* town. The *Indians* told us, we should not call Mr. *Bull*, captain, their young men would be mad that we brought a warrior there. We went up a steep hill, good land, to the creek *Cowewanick*, where we made our fire. They wanted to hunt for meat, and looked for a road. Captain *Bull* shot a squirrel, and broke his gun. I cut fire wood, and boiled some chocolate for supper. The others came home, and brought nothing. *Pesquitomen* wanted
to

to hear the writing from the general, which we read to them, to their great satisfaction. This was the first night we slept in the open air. Mr. *Bull* took the tent along with him. We discoursed a good deal of the night together.

——14th. We rose early, and thought to make good progress on our way. At one o'clock *Thomas Hickman* shot a large buck; and, as our people were hungry for meat, we made our camp there, and called the water *Buck run*. In the evening we heard the great guns fire from *fort Duquesne*. Whenever I looked towards that place, I felt a dismal impression, the very place seemed shocking and dark. *Pesquitomen* looked his things over, and found a white belt, sent by the commissioners of trade,* for the *Indian* affairs. We could find no writing concerning the belt, and did not know what was the signification thereof: They seemed much concerned to know it.

——15th. We arose early, and had a good day's journey: we passed these two days through thick bushes of briars and thorns; so that it was very difficult to get through. We crossed the creek *Paquakonink*; the land is very indifferent. At twelve o'clock we crossed the road from *Venango* to *fort Duquesne*. We went west towards *Kushkushking*, about sixteen miles from the fort. We went over a large barren plain, and made our lodging by a little run. *Pesquitomen* told us, we must send a messenger, to let them know of our coming, as the *French* live amongst them; he desired a string of wampum; I gave him three hundred and fifty. We concluded to go within three miles of *Kushkushking*, to their sugar cabbins,† and to call their chiefs there. In discourse, Mr. *Bull* told the *Indians*, the *English* should let all the prisoners stay amongst them, that liked to stay.

——16th. We met two *Indians* on the road, and sat down with them to dinner. They informed us that no body was at home, at *Kushkushking*; that one hundred and sixty, from that town, were gone to war against our party. We crossed the above mentioned creek; good land, but hilly. Went down a long valley to *Beaver* creek, through old *Kushkushking*, a large spot of land, about three miles long; they both went with us to the town; one of them rode before us, to let the people in the town know of our coming; we found there but two men, and some women. Those, that were at home, received us kindly. *Pesquitomen* desired us to read the message to them that were there.

——17th.

* Persons appointed by law to manage the *Indian* trade, for the public; the private trade, on account of its abuses, being abolished.

† Where they boil into sugar the juice of a tree that grows in those rich lands.

—17th. There were five *Frenchmen* in the town; the rest were gone to war. We held a council with *Delaware George*, delivered him the string and presents, that were sent to him; and informed him of the general's sentiments, and what he desired of them; upon which he agreed, and complied to go with Mr. *Bull*, to the general. Towards night *Keckkenepalin* came home from the war, and told us the disagreeable news, that they had fallen in with that party, that had guided us; they had killed Lieutenant *Hays*, and four more, and took five prisoners, the others got clear off. They had a skirmish with them within twelve miles of *fort Duquesne*. Further he told us, that one of the captives was to be burnt, which grieved us. By the prisoners they were informed of our arrival; on which they concluded to leave the *French*, and to hear what news we brought them. In the evening they brought a prisoner to town. We called the *Indians* together, that were at home, and explained the matter to them, and told them, as their own people had desired the general to give them a guide to conduct them safe home, and by a misfortune, your people have fallen in with this party, and killed five and taken five prisoners; and we are now informed that one of them is to be burnt; "Consider, my brethren, if you should give us a guide, to bring us safe on our way home, and our parties should fall in with you, how hard you would take it."

They said, "Brother, it is a hard matter, and we are sorry it hath happened so." I answered, "Let us therefore spare no pains to relieve them from any cruelty." We could scarce find a messenger, that would undertake to go to *Sawcung*, where the prisoner was to be bunt. We promised to one named *Compass*, 500 black wampum, and Mr. *Hays* gave him a shirt and a dollar, on which he promised to go. We sent him as a messenger. By a string of wampum I spoke these words, "Brethren, consider the messengers are come home with good news, and three of your brethren, the *English*, with them. We desire you would pity your own young men, women and children, and use no hardships towards the captives, as having been guiding our party."

Afterwards the warriors informed us, that their design had not been to go to war, but that they had a mind to go to the general, and speak with him; and on the road the *French* made a division among them, that they could not agree; after which they were discovered by the *Cherokees* and *Catawbas*, who fled, and left their bundles, where they found an *English* colour. So *Kekeuscung* told them he would go before them to the general, if they would follow him; but they would not agree to it; and the *French* persuaded them to fall upon the *English* at *Loyal-banning*; they accordingly

cordingly did, and as they were driven back, they fell in with that party, that guided us, which they did not know. They seemed very sorry for it.

——18th. Captain *Bull* acted as commander, without letting us know any thing, or communicating with us. He and *George* relieved a prisoner from the warriors, by what means I do not know. When the warriors were met, he then called us first to sit down, and to hear what they had to say. The *Indian* that delivered the prisoner to *Bull* and *George*, spoke as follows:

“ My brethren, the *English* are at such a distance from us, as if they were under ground, that I cannot hear them. I am very glad to hear from you such good news; and I am very sorry that it happened so, that I went to war. Now I let the general know, he should consider his young men, and if you should have any of us, to set them at liberty, so as we do to you.

Then *Pesquitomen* said, “ As the Governor gave these three messengers into my bosom, so I now likewise, by this string of wampum, give *Bull* into *Delaware George*’s bosom, to bring him safe to the general.” Mr. *Bull* sat down with the prisoner, who gave him some intelligence in writing; at which the *Indians* grew very jealous, and asked them what they had to write there? I wrote a letter to the general by Mr. *Bull*. In the afternoon Mr. *Bull*, *Delaware George*, and *Keskenepalen* set out for the camp. Towards night they brought in another prisoner. When Mr. *Bull* and company were gone, the *Indians* took the same prisoner, whom Mr. *Bull* had relieved, and bound him and carried him to another town, without our knowledge. I a thousand times wished Mr. *Bull* had never meddled in the affair, fearing they would exceedingly punish, and bring the prisoner to confession of the contents of the writing.

——19th. A great many of the warriors came home. The *French* had infused bad notions into the *Indians*, by means of the letters, they found upon Lieutenant *Hays*, who was killed, which they falsely interpreted to them, viz. That, in one letter it was wrote, that the general should do all that was in his power to conquer the *French*, and, in the mean time the messengers to the *Indians* should do their utmost to draw the *Indians* back, and keep them together in conferences, till he, the general, had made a conquest of the *French*, and afterwards he should fall upon all *Indians*, and destroy them. And, that, if we should lose our lives, the *English* would carry on the war, so long as an *Indian*, or *Frenchman* was alive. Thereupon the *French* said to the *Indians*:

“ Now

“ Now you can see, my children, how the *English* want to deceive you, and if it would not offend you, I would go and knock these messengers on the head, before you should be deceived by them.” One of the *Indian* captains spoke to the *French* and said, “ To be sure it would offend us, if you should offer to knock them on the head. If you have a mind to go to war, go to the *English* army, and knock them on the head, and not these three men, that come with a message to us.”

After this speech the *Indians* went all off, and left the *French*. Nevertheless it had enraged some of the young people, and made them suspicious; so that it was a precarious time for us. I said, “ Brethren, have good courage, and be strong; let not every wind disturb your mind; let the *French* bring the letter here; for, as you cannot read, they may tell you thousands of false stories. We will read the letter to you. As *Isaac Still** can read, he will tell you the truth.”

After this all the young men were gathered together, *Isaac Still* being in company. The young men said, “ One that had but half an eye could see that the *English* only intended to cheat them; and that it was best to knock every one of us messengers on the head.”

Then *Isaac* began to speak and said, “ I am ashamed to hear such talking from you; you are but boys like me; you should not talk of such a thing. There have been thirteen nations at *Easton*, where they have established a firm peace with the *English*; and I have heard that the Five Nations were always called the wisest; go tell them that they are fools, and cannot see; and tell them that you are kings, and wise men. Go and tell the *Cayuga* chiefs so, that are here; and you will become great men.” Afterwards they were all still, and said not one word more.

——20th. There came a great many more together in the town, and brought *Henry Osten*, the serjeant, who was to have been burnt. They hallooed the war halloo; and the men and women beat him till he came into the house.† It is a grievous and melancholy sight to see our fellow mortals so abused. *Isaac Still* had a long discourse with the *French* captain; who made himself

VOL. II.

[61]

great

* An *Indian* with an *English* name. An *Indian* sometimes changes his name with an *Englishman* he respects: it is a seal of friendship, and creates a kind of relation between them.

† When a prisoner is brought to an *Indian* town, he runs a kind of gauntlet thro' the mob; and every one, even the children, endeavour to have a stroke at him; but as soon as he can get into any of their huts, he is under protection, and refreshments are administered to him.

great, by telling how he had fought the *English* at *Loyal-Hanning*. *Isaac* rallied him, and said he had seen them scalp horses, and take others for food. The first he denied, but the second he owned. *Isaac* ran the captain quite down, before them all. The *French* captain spoke with the two *Cayugas*; at last the *Cayugas* spoke very sharp to him, so that he grew pale, and was quite silent.

These three days past was precarious time for us. We were warned not to go far from the house; because the people who came from the slaughter, having been driven back, were possessed with a murdering spirit; which led them as in a halter, in which they were caught, and with bloody vengeance were thirsty and drunk. This afforded a melancholy prospect. *Isaac Still* was himself dubious of our lives. We did not let Mr. *Hays* know of the danger. I said, "As God hath stopped the mouth of the lions, that they could not devour *Daniel*, so he will preserve us from their fury, and bring us through." I had a discourse with Mr. *Hays* concerning our message, and begged him he would pray to God for grace and wisdom, that he would grant us peace among this people. We will remain in stillness, and not look to our own credit. We are in the service of our king and country. This people are rebellious in heart; now we are here to reconcile them again to the General, Governor, and the *English* nation; to turn them again from their errors. And I wished that God would grant us his grace, whereby we may do it; which I hope and believe he will do. Mr. *Hays* took it to heart and was convinced of all; which much rejoiced me. I begged *Isaac Still* to watch over himself, and not to be discouraged; for I hoped the storm would soon pass by.

In the afternoon all the captains gathered together in the middle town; they sent for us, and desired we should give them information of our message. Accordingly we did. We read the message with great satisfaction to them. It was a great pleasure both to them and us. The number of captains and counsellors were sixteen. In the evening messengers arrived from *fort Duquesne*, with a string of wampum from the commander; upon which they all came together in the house where we lodged. The messengers delivered their string, with these words from their father, the *French* King:

"My children, come to me, and hear what I have to say. The *English* are coming with an army to destroy both you and me. I therefore desire you immediately, my children, to hasten with all the young men; we will drive the *English* and destroy them. I, as a father, will tell you always what is best." He laid the string before one of the captains. After a little conversation, the captain stood up
and

and said; "I have just heard something of our brethren the *English*, which pleaseth me much better. I will not go. Give it to the others, may be they will go." The messenger took up again the string and said, "He won't go, he has heard of the *English*."* Then all cried out, "yes, yes, we have heard from the *English*." He then threw the string to the other fire place, where the other captains were; but they kicked it from one to another, as if it was a snake. Captain *Peter* took a stick, and with it flung the string from one end of the room to the other,† and said, "Give it to the *French* captain, and let him go with his young men; he boasted much of his fighting; now let us see his fighting. We have often ventured our lives for him; and had hardly a loaf of bread, when we came to him; and now he thinks we should jump to serve him." Then we saw the *French* captain mortified to the uttermost; he looked as pale as death. The *Indians* discoursed and joked till midnight; and the *French* captain sent messengers at midnight to *fort Duquesne*.

——21st. We were informed that the general was within twenty miles of *fort Duquesne*. As the *Indians* were afraid the *English* would come over the river *Ohio*, I spoke with some of the captains, and told them that, "I supposed the general intended to surround the *French*, and therefore must come to this side the river; but we assure you that he will not come to your towns to hurt you." I begged them to let the *Shawanese* at *Logstown*, know it, and gave them four strings of 300 wampum, with this message; "Brethren, we are arrived with good news, waiting for you; we desire you to be strong, and remember the ancient friendship your grandfathers had with the *English*. We wish you would remember it, and pity your young men, women and children, and keep away from the *French*; and if the *English* should come to surround the *French*, be not afraid. We assure you they won't hurt you."

——22d. *Kittiuskund* came home, and sent for us, being very glad to see us. He informed us, the general was within fifteen miles of the *French* fort; that the *French* had uncovered their houses, and laid the roofs round the fort to set it on fire, and made ready to go off, and would demolish the fort, and let the *English* have the bare ground; saying; "they are not able to build a strong fort this winter; and we will be early enough in the spring to destroy them. We will come with seventeen nations of *Indians*, and a great many *French*, and build a stone fort."

The

* *E. I.* He has listened to the *English* messages.

† Kicking the string about, and throwing it with a stick, not touching it with their hands, were marks of dislike of the message, that accompanied it.

The *Indians* danced round the fire till midnight, for joy of their brethren, the *English* coming. There went some scouting parties towards the army. Some of the captains told me, that *Shamokin Daniel*, who came with me in my former journey, had fairly sold me to the *French*; and the *French* had been very much displeased, that the *Indians* had brought me away.

——23d. The *liar* raised a story, as if the *English* were divided into three bodies, to come on this side the river. They told us the *Cayugas*, that came with us, had said so. We told the *Cayugas* of it; on which they called the other *Indians* together; denied that they ever said so; and said, they were sent to this place from the *Five Nations*, to tell them to do their best endeavors to send the *French* off from this country; and when that was done, they would go and tell the general to go back over the mountains.

I see the *Indians* concern themselves very much about the affair of land; and are continually jealous, and afraid the *English* will take their land. I told them to be still and content themselves, “for there are some chiefs of the *Five Nations* with the army; they will settle the affair, as they are the chief owners of the land; and it will be well for you to come and speak with the general yourselves.”

Isaac Still asked the *French* captain, whether it was true, that *Daniel* had sold me to the *French*? He owned it, and said, I was theirs, they had bought me fairly; and, if the *Indians* would give them leave, he would take me.

——24th. We hanged out the *English* flag, in spite of the *French*; on which our prisoners folded their hands, in hopes that their redemption was nigh, looking up to God, which melted my heart in tears, and prayers to God, to hear their prayers, and change the times, and the situation, which our prisoners are in, and under which they groan. “O Lord, said they, when will our redemption come, that we shall be delivered, and return home?”—And if any accident happeneth, which the *Indians* dislike, the prisoners all tremble with fear, saying, “Lord, what will become of us, and what will be the end of our lives?” So that they often wish themselves rather under the ground, than in this life. King Beaver came home, and called us to his house, and saluted us in a friendly manner; which we, in like manner, did to him. Afterwards I spoke by four strings of 350 wampum, and said, as followeth:

“I have a salutation to you, and all your people, from the general, the governor, and many other gentlemen. Brother, it pleases me that the day is come to see you and your people. We have warmed ourselves by your fire, and waited for you, and
thank

thank you, that you did come home. We have good news of great importance ; which we hope will make you, and all your people's hearts glad. By these strings I desire you would be pleased to call all your kings and captains, from all the towns and nations ; so that they all may hear us, and have the benefit thereof, while they live, and their children after them."

Then he said, "As soon as I heard of your coming, I rose up directly to come to you." Then there came another message, which called me to another place, where six kings of six nations were met together. I sent them word, they should sit together a while, and smoke their pipes, and I would come to them. King Beaver said further,

"Brother, it pleaseth me to hear that you brought such good news ; and my heart rejoices already at what you said to me. It rejoices me that I have now heard of you." I said, "Brother, you did well, that you first came here, before you went to the kings ; as the good news we brought is to all nations, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same ; that want to be in peace and friendship with the *English*. So it will give them satisfaction, when they hear it." The *French* captain told us, that they would demolish the fort ; and he thought the *English* would be to-day at the place.

—25th. *Shingas* came home, and saluted us in a friendly manner, and so did *Beaver*, in our house ; and then they told us, they would hear our message ; and we perceived that the *French* captain had an inclination to hear it. We called *Beaver* and *Shingas*, and informed them, that all the nations, at *Easton*, had agreed with the governor, that every thing should be kept secret from the ears and eyes of the *French*. He said, "it was no matter, they were beaten already. It is good news, and if he would say any thing, we would tell him what friendship we have together." Accordingly they met together, and the *French* captain was present. The number consisted of about fifty.

King *Beaver* first spoke to his men, "Hearken, all you captains and warriors, here are our brethren, the *English* ; I wish that you may give attention, and take notice of what they say. As it is for our good, that there may an everlasting peace be established, although there is a great deal of mischief done, if it pleaseth God to help us, we may live in peace again."

Then I began to speak by four strings to them, and said,

"Brethren, being come here to see you, I perceive your bodies are all stained with blood, and observe tears and sorrows in your eyes : With this string I clean your body from blood, and wipe
and

and anoint your eyes with the healing oil, so that you may see your brethren clearly. And as so many storms have blown since we last saw one another, and we are at such a distance from you, that you could not rightly hear us as yet, I, by this string, take a soft feather, and with that good oil, our grandfathers used, open and clear your ears, so that you may both hear and understand what your brethren have to say to you. And by these strings I clear your throat from the dust, and take all the bitterness out of your heart, and clear the passage from the heart to the throat, that you may speak freely with your brethren, the *English*, from the heart."

Then *Isaac Still* gave the pipe, sent by the *Friends* *, filled with tobacco, and handed round, after their custom, and said :

"Brethren, here is the pipe, which your grandfathers used to smoke with, when they met together in councils of peace. And here is some of that good tobacco, prepared for our grandfathers from God :—When you shall taste of it, you shall feel it through all your body ; and it will put you in remembrance of the good councils, your grandfathers used to hold with the *English*, your brethren, and that ancient friendship, they had together."

King *Beaver* rose, and thanked us first, that we had cleaned his body from the blood, and wiped the tears and sorrow from his eyes, and opened his ears, so that now he could well hear and understand. Likewise he returned thanks for the *pipe and tobacco*, that we brought, which our grandfathers used to smoke. He said, —"When I tasted that good tobacco, I felt it all through my body, and it made me all over well."

Then we delivered the messages, as followeth :

Governor *Denny's* answer to the message of the *Ohio Indians*, brought by *Frederick Post*, *Pesquitomen* and *Thomas Hickman*.

"By this string, my *Indian* brethren of the United Nations and *Delawares*, join with me, in requiring of the *Indian* councils, to which these following messages shall be presented, to keep every thing private from the eyes and ears of the *French*." A string.

"Brethren, we received your message by *Pesquitomen* and *Frederick Post*, and thank you for the care you have taken of our messenger of peace, and that you have put him in your bosom, and protected him against our enemy, *Onontio*, and his children, and sent him safe back to our council fire, by the same man, that received him from us." A string.

"Brethren,

* The *Quakers* of *Philadelphia*, who first set on foot these negotiations of peace ; and for whom the *Indians* have always had a great regard.

“Brethren, I only sent *Post* to peep into your cabbins, and to know the sentiments of your old men, and to look at your faces, to see how you look. And I am glad to hear from him, that you look friendly; and that there still remain some sparks of love towards us. It is what we believed before hand, and therefore we never let slip the chain of friendship, but held it fast, on our side, and it has never dropt out of our hands. By this belt we desire that you will dig up your end of the chain of friendship, that you suffered, by the subtlety of the *French*, to be buried.” A belt.

“Brethren, it happened that the governor of *Jersey* was with me, and a great many *Indian* brethren, sitting in council at Easton, when your messengers arrived; and it gave pleasure to every one that heard it; and it will afford the same satisfaction to our neighboring governors, and their people, when they come to hear it. I shall send messengers to them, and acquaint them with what you have said.

“Your requesting us to let the king of *England* know your good dispositions we took to heart, and shall let him know it; and we will speak in your favor to his majesty, who has, for some time past, looked upon you as his lost children. And we can assure you, that, as a tender father over all his children, he will forgive what is past, and receive you again into his arms.” A belt.

“Brethren, if you are in earnest to be reconciled to us, you will keep your young men from attacking our country, and killing, and carrying captive our back inhabitants: And will likewise give orders, that your people may be kept at a distance from *Fort Duquesne*; that they may not be hurt by our warriors, who are sent by our king to chastise the *French*, and not to hurt you. Consider the commanding officer of that army treads heavy, and would be very sorry to hurt any of his *Indian* brethren.” A large belt.

“And brethren, the chiefs of the *United Nations*, with their cousins, our brethren, the *Delawares*, and others now here, jointly with me send this belt, which has upon it two figures, that represent all the *English*, and all the *Indians*, now present, taking hands, and delivering it to *Pesquitomen*; and we desire it may be likewise sent to the *Indians*, who are named at the end of these messages*; as they have all been formerly our very good friends and allies; and we desire they will all go from among the *French* to their own towns, and no longer help the *French*.”

“Brethren on the *Ohio*, if you take the belts we just now gave you, in which all here join, *English* and *Indians*, as we do not doubt

* “Sastaghretsy, Anigh Kalicken, Atowateany, Towigh, Towighroano, Geghda-geghroano, Oyaghtanont, Sifaghroano, Stiaggeghroano, Jcuontadynago.”

doubt you will ; then, by this belt, I make a road for you, and invite you to come to *Philadelphia*, to your first old council fire, which was kindled when we first saw one another ; which fire we will kindle up again, and remove all disputes, and renew the old and first treaties of friendship. This is a clear and open road for you ; fear, therefore, nothing, and come to us with as many as can be of the *Delawares*, *Shawanese*, or of the *Six Nations* : We will be glad to see you ; we desire all tribes and nations of *Indians*, who are in alliance with you, may come. As soon as we hear of your coming, of which you will give us timely notice, we will lay up provisions for you along the road."

A large white belt, with the figure of a man, at each end, and streaks of black, representing the road from the *Ohio* to *Philadelphia* :

"Brethren, the *Six Nation* and *Delaware* chiefs join with me in those belts, which are tied together, to signify our union and friendship for each other ; with them we jointly take the *tomahawks* out of your hands, and bury them under ground.

"We speak aloud, so as you may hear us ; you see we all stand together, joined hand in hand." Two belts tied together.

"General *Forbes* to the *Shawanese*, and *Delawares*, on the *Ohio*.

"Brethren, I embrace this opportunity by our brother, *Pesquitemen*, who is now on his return home with some of your uncles, of the *Six Nations*, from the treaty of *Easton*, of giving you joy of the happy conclusion of that great council, which is perfectly agreeable to me ; as it is for the mutual advantage of our brethren, the *Indians*, as well as the *English* nation.

"I am glad to find that all past disputes and animosities are now finally settled, and amicably adjusted ; and I hope they will be forever buried in oblivion, and that you will now again be firmly united in the interest of your brethren, the *English*."

"As I am now advancing, at the head of a large army, against his majesty's enemies, the *French*, on the *Ohio*, I must strongly recommend to you to send immediate notice to any of your people, who may be at the *French* fort, to return forthwith to your towns ; where you may sit by your fires, with your wives and children, quiet and undisturbed, and smoke your pipes in safety. Let the *French* fight their own battles, as they were the first cause of the war, and the occasion of the long difference, which hath subsisted between you and your brethren, the *English* ; but I must entreat you to restrain your young men from crossing the *Ohio*, as it will be impossible for me to distinguish them from our enemies ; which I expect you will comply with, without delay ; lest, by your neglect thereof, I should be the innocent cause of some of our brethren's

thren's death. This advice take and keep in your own breasts, and suffer it not to reach the ears of the *French*.

“As a proof of the truth and sincerity of what I say, and to confirm the tender regard I have for the lives and welfare of our brethren, on the *Ohio*, I send you this string of wampum.

“I am, brethren and warriors,

“Your friend and brother,

“JOHN FORBES.”

“Brethren, kings *Beaver* and *Shingas*, and all the warriors, who join with you :

“The many acts of hostility, committed by the *French* against the *British* subjects, made it necessary for the king to take up arms, in their defence, and to redress their wrongs, which have been done them ; heaven hath favoured the justice of the cause, and given success to his fleets and armies, in different parts of the world. I have received his commands, with regard to what is to be done on the *Ohio*, and shall endeavour to act like a soldier, by driving the *French* from thence, or destroying them.

“It is a particular pleasure to me to learn, that the *Indians*, who inhabit near that river, have lately concluded a treaty of peace with the *English* ; by which the ancient friendship is renewed with their brethren, and fixed on a firmer foundation than ever. May it be lasting and unmoveable as the mountains. I make no doubt but it gives you equal satisfaction, and that you will unite your endeavours with mine, and all the governors of these provinces, to strengthen it : The clouds, that, for some time, hung over the *English*, and their friends, the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, and kept them both in darkness, are now dispersed, and the cheerful light now again shines upon us, and warms us both. May it continue to do so, while the sun and moon give light.

“Your people, who were sent to us, were received by us with open arms ; they were kindly entertained, while they were here ; and I have taken care that they shall return safe to you ; with them come trusty messengers, whom I earnestly recommend to your protection ; they have several matters in charge ; and I desire you may give credit to what they say ; in particular, they have a large belt of wampum, and by this belt we let you know, that it is agreed by me, and all the governors, that there shall be an everlasting peace with all the *Indians*, established as sure as the mountains, between the *English* nation and the *Indians*, all over, from the sun rising to the sun setting ; and as your influence on them is great, so you will make it known to all the different nations, that want

to be in friendship with the *English*; and I hope, by your means and persuasions, many will lay hold on this belt, and immediately withdraw from the *French*: this will be greatly to their own interest and your honor, and I shall not fail to acquaint the great king of it: I sincerely wish it, for their good; for it will fill me with concern, to find any of you joined with the *French*; as in that case, you must be sensible I must treat them as enemies; however, I once more repeat, that there is no time to be lost; for I intend to march with the army very soon; and I hope to enjoy the pleasure of thanking you for your zeal, and of entertaining you in the fort ere long. In the mean time I wish happiness and prosperity to you, your women and children.

“ I write to you as a warrior should, that is, with candour and love, and I recommend secrecy and dispatch.

“ I am, kings *Beaver* and *Shingas*,

“ And brother warriors,

“ Your assured friend and brother,

“ JOHN FORBES.

“ From my camp at *Loyalbannon*,
Nov. 9, 1758.”

The messages pleased, and gave satisfaction to all the hearers, except the *French* captain. He shook his head with bitter grief, and often changed his countenance. *Isaac Still* ran down the *French* captain with great boldness, and pointed at him saying, “ There he sits.” Afterwards *Shingas* rose up and said :

“ Brethren, now we have rightly heard and understood you, it pleaseth me and all the young men, that hear it; we shall think of it, and take it into due consideration; and when we have considered it well, then we will give you an answer, and send it to all the towns and nations, as you desired us.”

We thanked them and wished them good success in their undertaking; and wished it might have the same effect upon all other nations, that may hereafter hear it, as it had on them. We went a little out of the house. In the mean time *Isaac Still* demanded the letter, which the *French* had falsely interpreted, that it might be read in public. Then they called us back, and I, *Frederick Post*, found it was my own letter, I had wrote to the general. I therefore stood up, and read it, which *Isaac* interpreted. The *Indians* were well pleased, and took it as if it was written to them; thereupon they all said; “ We always thought the *French* report

of the letter was a lie ; they always deceived us :” Pointing at the *French* captain ; who, bowing down his head, turned quite pale, and could look no one in the face. All the *Indians* began to mock and laugh at him ; he could hold it no longer, and went out. Then the *Cayuga* chief delivered a string, in the name of the *Six Nations*, with these words :

“ Cousins, hear what I have to say ; I see you are sorry, and the tears stand in your eyes. I would open your ears, and clear your eyes from tears, so that you may see, and hear what your uncles, the *Six Nations*, have to say. We have established a friendship with your brethren, the *English*. We see that you are all over bloody, on your body ; I clean the heart from the dust, and your eyes from the tears, and your bodies from the blood, that you may hear and see your brethren, the *English*, and appear clean before them, and that you may speak from the heart with them.”

Delivered four strings.

Then he shewed to them a string from the *Cherokees*, with these words :

“ Nephews, we let you know, that we are exceeding glad that there is such a firm friendship established, on so good a foundation, with so many nations, that it will last for ever ; and, as the *Six Nations* have agreed with the *English*, so we wish that you may lay hold of the same friendship. We will remind you, that we were formerly good friends. Likewise we let you know, that the *Six Nations* gave us a *tomahawk*, and, if any body offended us, we should strike him with it ; likewise they gave me a knife, to take off the scalp. So we let you know, that we are desirous to hear very soon from you, what you determine. It may be we shall use the hatchet very soon, therefore I long to hear from you.”

Then the council broke up. After a little while messengers arrived, and *Beaver* came into our house, and gave us the pleasure to hear, that the *English* had the field, and that the *French* had demolished and burnt the place entirely, and went off ; that the commander is gone with two hundred men to *Venango*, and the rest gone down the river in battoes, to the lower *Shawanese* town, with an intention to build a fort there ; they were seen yesterday passing by *Sawcung*.

We ended this day with pleasure and great satisfaction on both sides : the *Cayuga* chief said, he would speak further to them tomorrow.

——26th. We met together about ten o'clock. First, King *Beaver* addressed himself to the *Cayuga* chief, and said ;

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“ My uncles, as it is customary to answer one another, so I thank you, that you took so much notice of your cousins, and that you have wiped the tears from our eyes, and cleaned our bodies from the blood; when you spoke to me I saw myself all over bloody; and since you cleaned me I feel myself quite pleasant through my whole body, and I can see the sun shine clear over us.”

Delivered four strings.

He said further, “ As you took so much pains, and came a great way through the bushes, I, by this string, clean you from the sweat, and clean the dust out of your throat, so that you may speak what you have to say from your brethren, the *English*, and our uncles, the *Six Nations*, to your cousins, I am ready to hear.”

Then *Petiniontonka*, the *Cayuga* chief, took the belt with eight diamonds,* and said;

“ Cousins, take notice of what I have to say; we let you know what agreement we have made with our brethren, the *English*. We had almost slipt and dropt the chain of friendship with our brethren, the *English*; now we let you know that we have renewed the peace and friendship with our brethren, the *English*; and we have made a new agreement with them. We see that you have dropt the peace and friendship with them. We desire you would lay hold of the covenant, we have made with our brethren, the *English*, and be strong. We likewise take the *tomahawk* out of your hands, that you received from the white people; use it no longer; fling the *tomahawk* away; it is the white people's; let them use it among themselves; it is theirs, and they are of one colour; let them fight with one another, and do you be still and quiet in *Kushkushking*. Let our grandchildren, the *Shawanese*, likewise know of the covenant, we established with our friends, the *English*, and also let all other nations know it.”

Then he explained to them the eight diamonds, on the belt, signifying the five united nations, and the three younger nations, which join them: these all united with the *English*. Then he proceeded thus:

“ Brethren,” (delivering a belt with eight diamonds, the second belt) “ we hear that you did not sit right; and when I came I found you in a moving posture, ready to jump towards the sunset; so we will set you at ease, and quietly down, that you may sit well at *Kushkushking*; and we desire you to be strong; and if you will be strong, your women and children will see from day to day the light shining more over them; and our children and grand
children

* Diamond figures, formed by beads of wampum, of different colours.

children will see that there will be an everlasting peace established. We desire you to be still; we do not know as yet, what to do; towards the spring you shall hear from your uncles what they conclude; in the mean time do you sit still by your fire at *Kusbkusking*."

In the evening the devil made a general disturbance, to hinder them in their good disposition. It was reported they saw three *Catawba Indians* in their town; and they roved about all that cold night, in great fear and confusion. When I consider with what tyranny and power the prince of this world rules over this people, it breaks my heart over them; and I wish that God would have mercy upon them, and that their redemption may draw nigh, and open their eyes, that they may see what bondage they are in, and deliver them from the evil.

——27th. We waited all the day for an answer. *Beaver* came and told us, "They were busy all the day long." He said, "It is a great matter, and wants much consideration. We are three tribes, which must separately agree among ourselves; it takes time before we hear each agreement, and the particulars thereof." He desired us to read our message once more to them in private; we told them, we were at their service at any time; and then we explained him the whole again. There arrived a messenger from *Sawcung*, and informd us that four of their people were gone to our camp, to see what the *English* were about; and that one of them climbing upon a tree was discovered by falling down; and then our people spoke to them; three resolved to go to the other side, and one came back and brought the news, which pleased the company. Some of the captains and counsellors were together; they said, that the *French* would build a strong fort, at the lower *Shawanese* town. I answered them, "Brethren, if you suffer the *French* to build a fort there, you must suffer likewise the *English* to come and destroy the place; *English* will follow the *French*, and pursue them, let it cost whatever it will; and wherever the *French* settle, the *English* will follow and destroy them."

They said, "We think the same, and would endeavour to prevent it, if the *English* only would go back, after having drove away the *French*, and not settle there." I said, "I can tell you no certainty in this affair; it is best for you to go with us to the general, and speak with him. So much I know, that they only want to establish a trade with you; and you know yourselves that you cannot do without being supplied with such goods as you stand in need of; but, brethren, be assured you must entirely quit the *French*, and have no communication with them, else they will always

ways breed disturbance and confusion amongst you, and persuade your young people to go to war against our brethren, the *English*."

I spoke with them further about *Venango*, and said, "I believed the *English* would go there, if they suffered the *French* longer to live there. This speech had much influence on them, and they said; "We are convinced of all that you have said; it will be so." I found them inclined to send off the *French* from *Venango*; but they wanted first to know the disposition of the *English*, and not to suffer the *French* to build any where.

—28th. King *Beaver* arose early before the break of day, and bid all his people a good morning, desired them to rise early and prepare victuals; for they had to answer their brethren, the *English*, and their uncles, and therefore they should be in a good humour and disposition. At ten o'clock they met together; *Beaver* addressed himself to his people, and said,

"Take notice all you young men and warriors to what we answer now: it is three days since we heard our brethren, the *English*, and our uncles; and what we have heard of both is very good; and we are all much pleased with what we have heard. Our uncles have made an agreement, and peace is established with our brethren, the *English*, and they have shook hands with them; and we likewise agree in the peace and friendship, they have established between them." Then he spoke to the *French* captain *Canaquais*, and said,

"You may hear what I answer; it is good news, that we have heard. I have not made myself a king. My uncles have made me like a queen, that I always should mind what is good and right, and whatever I agree with, they will assist me, and help me through. Since the warriors came amongst us, I could not follow that which is good and right; which has made me heavy; and since it is my duty to do that which is good, so I will endeavour to do and to speak what is good, and not let myself be disturbed by the warriors."

Then he spoke to the *Mingoes*, and said,

"My uncles, hear me: It is two days since you told me, that you have made peace and friendship, and shook hands with our brethren, the *English*. I am really very much pleased with what you told me; and I join with you in the same; and, as you said, I should let the *Shawanese* and *Delamattanoes* know of the agreement, you have made with our brethren, the *English*, I took it to heart, and shall let them know it very soon."

He delivered a string.

"Look

“ Look now, my uncles, and hear what your coufins fay : you have spoke the day before yesterday to me. I have heard you. You told me, you would fet me at *Kushkushking* easy down. I took it to heart ; and I shall do so, and be still, and lay myself easy down, and keep my match-coat close to my breast. You told me, you will let me know in the next spring, what to do ; so I will be still, and wait to hear from you.”

Gave him a belt.

Then he turned himself to us, and gave us the following answers. First, to the general ;

“ Brother, by these strings I would desire, in a most kind and friendly manner, you would be pleased to hear me what I have to say, as you are not far off.

“ Brother, now you told me you have heard of that good agreement, that has been agreed to, at the treaty at *Easton* ; and that you have put your hands to it, to strengthen it, so that it may last for ever. Brother, you have told me, that after you have come to hear it, you have taken it to heart, and then you sent it to me, and let me know it. Brother, I would desire you would be pleased to hear me, and I would tell you, in a most soft, loving and friendly manner, to go back over the mountain, and to stay there ; for, if you will do that, I will use it for an argument, to argue with other nations of *Indians*. Now, brother, you have told me you have made a road clear, from the sun-set to our first old council fire, at *Philadelphia*, and therefore I should fear nothing, and come into that road. Brother, after these far *Indians* shall come to hear of that good and wide road, that you have laid out for us, then they will turn and look at the road, and see nothing in the way ; and that is the reason, that maketh me tell you to go back over the mountain again, and to stay there ; for then the road will be clear, and nothing in the way.”

Then he addressed himself to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, as follows ;

“ Brother, give good attention to what I am going to say ; for I speak from my heart ; and think nothing the less of it, though the strings be small.*

“ Brother, I now tell you what I have heard from you is quite agreeable to my mind ; and I love to hear you. I tell you likewise, that all the chief men of *Allegheny* are well pleased with what you have said to us ; and all my young men, women and children, that
are

* Important matters should be accompanied with large strings, or belts ; but sometimes a sufficient quantity of wampum is not at hand.

are able to understand, are well pleased with what you have said to me.

“ Brother, you tell me that all the Governors of the several provinces have agreed to a well established and everlasting peace with the *Indians*; and you likewise tell me, that my uncles, the *Six Nations*, and my brethren, the *Dalawares*, and several other tribes of *Indians* join with you in it, to establish it, so that it may be everlasting; you likewise tell me, you have all agreed on a treaty of peace to last for ever; and for these reasons I tell you, I am pleased with what you have told me.

“ Brother, I am heartily pleased to hear that you never let slip the chain of friendship out of your hands, which our grandfathers had between them, so that they could agree as brethren and friends in any thing.

“ Brother, as you have been pleased to let me know of that good and desirable agreement, that you and my uncles and brethren have agreed to, at the treaty of peace, I now tell you I heartily join and agree in it, and to it; and now I desire you to go on steadily in that great and good work, you have taken in hand; and I will do as you desire me to do; that is, to let the other tribes of *Indians* know it, and more especially my uncles, the *Six Nations*, and the *Shawanese*, my grandchildren, and all other nations, settled to the westward.

“ Brother, I desire you not to be out of patience, as I have a great many friends at a great distance; and I shall use my best endeavours to let them know it as soon as possible; and as soon as I obtain their answer, shall let you know it.”

Then he gave six strings all white.

In the evening arrived a messenger from *Sackung*, *Netodwehement*, and desired they should make all the haste to dispatch us, and we should come to *Sackung*; for, as they did not know what is become of those three, that went to our camp, they were afraid the *English* would keep them, till they heard what was become of us, their messengers.

—29th. Before day break *Beaver* and *Shingas* came, and called us into their council. They had been all the night together. They said; “ Brethren, now is the day coming, you will set off from here. It is a good many days since we heard you; and what we have heard is very pleasing and agreeable to us. It rejoices all our hearts; and all our young men, women and children, that are capable to understand, are really very well pleased with what they have heard; it is so agreeable to us, that we never received such good news before; we think God has made it so; he pities us,
and

and has mercy on us. And now, brethren, you desire that I should let it be known to all other nations; and I shall let them know very soon. Therefore *Shingas* cannot go with you. He must go with me, to help me in this great work; and I shall send nobody, but go myself, to make it known to all nations."

Then we thanked them for their care; and wished him good success on his journey and undertaking: and, as this message had such a good effect on them, we hoped it would have the same on all other nations, when they came to hear it. I hoped that all the clouds would pass away, and the cheerful light would shine over all nations: so I wished them good assistance and help on their journey. Farther, he said to us;

"Now we desire you to be strong;* because I shall make it my strong argument with other nations; but as we have given credit to what you have said, hoping it is true, and we agree to it; if it should prove the contrary, it would make me so ashamed, that I never could lift up my head, and never undertake to speak any word more for the interest of the *English*."

I told them, "Brethren, you will remember that it was wrote to you by the general, that you might give credit to what we say; so I am glad to hear of you, that you give credit; and we assure you, that what we have told you is the truth; and you will find it so."

They said further, "Brethren, we let you know, that the *French* have used our people kindly, in every respect; they have used them like gentlemen, especially those that live near them. So they have treated the chiefs. Now we desire you to be strong; we wish you would take the same method, and use our people well: for the other *Indians* will look upon us;† and we do not otherwise know how to convince them, and to bring them into the *English* interest, without your using such means as will convince them. For the *French* will still do more to keep them to their interest."

I told them, "I would take it to heart, and inform the Governor, and other gentlemen of it; and speak to them in their favour." Then they said, "It is so far well, and the road is cleared; but they thought we should send them another call, when they may come." I told them; "We did not know when they would have agreed with the other nations. Brother, it is you, who must give

VOL. II.

[63]

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* The word, *wisbicksey*, translated, *be strong*, is of a very extensive signification, be strong, be steady, pursue to effect what you have begun, &c.

† *J. A.* They will observe how we are dressed,

us the first notice when you can come ; the sooner the better ; and so soon as you send us word, we will prepare for you on the road." After this we made ready for our journey.

Ketiusbund, a noted *Indian*, one of the chief counsellors, told us in secret, " That all the nations had jointly agreed to defend their hunting place at *Alleghenny*, and suffer nobody to settle there ; and as these *Indians* are very much inclined to the *English* interest, so he begged us very much to tell the Governor, General, and all other people not to settle there. And if the *English* would draw back over the mountain, they would get all the other nations into their interest ; but if they staid and settled there, all the nations would be against them ; and he was afraid it would be a great war, and never come to a peace again."

I promised to inform the Governor, General, and all other people of it, and repeated my former request to them, not to suffer any *French* to settle amongst them. After we had fetched our horses, we went from *Kushkushking*, and came at five o'clock to *Saccung*, in company with twenty *Indians*. When we came about half way, we met a messenger from fort *Duquesne*, with a belt from *Thomas King*, inviting all the chiefs to *Saccung*. We heard at the same time, that Mr. *Croghn* and *Henry Montour* would be there to day. The messenger was one of those three, that went to our camp ; and it seemed to rejoice all the company ; for some of them were much troubled in their minds, fearing that the *English* had kept them, as prisoners, or killed them. In the evening we arrived at *Saccung*, on the *Beaver* creek. We were well received. The king provided for us. After a little while we visited Mr. *Croghn* and his company.

—30th. In the morning the *Indians* of the town visited us. About eleven o'clock about forty came together ; when we read the message to them ; Mr. *Croghn*, *Henry Montour* and *Thomas King* being present. They were all well pleased with the message. In the evening we came together with the chiefs, and explained the signification of the belts ; which lasted till eleven o'clock at night.

December 1st. After hunting a great while for our horses, without finding them, we were obliged to give an *Indian* three hundred wampum for looking for them. We bought corn for four hundred and fifty wampum for our horses. The *Indians* met together to hear what Mr. *Croghn* had to say. *Thomas King* spoke by a belt, and invited them to come to the general ; upon which they all resolved to go.

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In the evening the captains and counsellors came together, I and *Isaac Still* being present; they told us, that they had formerly agreed not to give any credit to any message, sent from the English by *Indians*; thinking, if the *English* would have peace with them, they would come themselves; “So soon, therefore, as you came, it was as if the weather changed; and a great cloud passed away, and we could think again on our ancient friendship with our brethren, the *English*. We have thought since that time, more on the *English* than ever before, although the *French* have done all, in their power, to prejudice our young men against the *English*. Since you now come the second time, we think it is God’s work; he pities us, that we should not all die; and if we should not accept of the peace offered to us, we think God would forsake us.”

In discourse, they spoke about preaching, and said, “They wished many times to hear the word of God; but they were always afraid the *English* would take that opportunity to bring them into bondage.” They invited me to come and live amongst them; since I had taken so much pains in bringing a peace about between them and the *English*. I told them, “It might be, that when the peace was firmly established, I would come to proclaim the peace and love of God to them.”

In the evening arrived a message, with a string of wampum, to a noted *Indian*, *Ketiuscund*, to come to *Wenango*, to meet the *Unami* chief, *Quitahicung* there; he said that a *French Mohock* had killed a *Delaware Indian*; and when he was asked why he did it? He said the *French* bid him do it.

——2d. Early before we set out, I gave 300 wampums to the *Cayugas*, to buy some corn for their horses; they agreed that I should go before to the general, to acquaint him of their coming. The *Beaver* creek being very high, it was almost two o’clock, in the afternoon, before we came over the creek; this land seems to be very rich. I, with my companion, *Kekiuscund*’s son, came to Log’s-town, situated on a hill. On the east end is a great piece of low land, where the old *Logs-town* used to stand. In the new *Logs-town* the *French* have built about thirty houses for the *Indians*. They have a large corn field on the south side, where the corn stands ungathered. Then we went farther through a large tract of fine land, along the river side. We came within eight miles of *Pittsburg*, where we lodged on a hill, in the open air. It was a cold night; and I had forgot my blanket, being packed upon Mr. Hays’s horse. Between *Saccung* and *Pittsburg*, all the *Shawanos* towns are empty of people.

——3d.

——3d. We started early, and came to the river by *Pittsburg*; we called that they should come over and fetch us; but their boats having gone adrift, they made a raft of black oak pallifadoes, which sunk as soon as it came into the water. We were very hungry, and staid on that island, where I had kept council with the *Indians*, in the month of August last; for all I had nothing to live on, I thought myself a great deal better off now, than at that time, having now liberty to walk upon the island according to pleasure; and it seemed as if the dark clouds were dispersed.

While I waited here, I saw the general march off from *Pittsburg*; which made me sorry, that I could not have the pleasure of speaking with him. Towards evening our whole party arrived: upon which they fired from the fort with twelve great guns; and our *Indians* saluted again three times round with their small arms. By accident some of the *Indians* found a raft hid in the bushes, and Mr. Hays, coming last, went over first with two *Indians*. They sent us but a small allowance; so that it would not serve each round. I tied my belt a little closer, being very hungry, and nothing to eat.* It snowed, and we were obliged to sleep without any shelter. In the evening they threw light balls from the fort; at which the *Indians* started, thinking they would fire at them; but seeing it was not aimed at them, they rejoiced to see them fly so high.

——4th. We got up early, and cleared a place from the snow, cut some fire wood, and hallooed till we were tired. Towards noon Mr. Hays came with a raft, and the *Indian* chiefs went over: he informed me of Colonel *Bouquet's* displeasure with the *Indians'* answer to the general, and his desire that they should alter their mind, in insisting upon the general's going back; but the *Indians* had no inclination to alter their mind. In the afternoon some provision was sent over, but a small allowance. When I came over to the fort, the council with the *Indians* was almost at an end. I had a discourse with Colonel *Bouquet* about the affairs, disposition and resolution of the *Indians*.

I drew provision for our journey to fort *Ligonier*, and baked bread for our whole company: towards noon the *Indians* met together in a conference. First king *Beaver* addressed himself to the *Mohocks*, desiring them to give their brethren an answer about settling

* As it often happens to the *Indians*, on their long marches, in war, and sometimes in their hunting expeditions, to be without victuals for several days, occasioned by bad weather and other accidents, they have this custom in such cases; which *Poss* probably learned of them, viz. girding their bellies tight, when they have nothing to put in them; and they say it prevents the pain of hunger.

settling at *Pittsburg*. The *Mohocks* said, "They lived at such a distance, that they could not defend the *English* there, if any accident should befall them; but you, cousins, who live close here, must think what to do." Then *Beaver* said by a string:

"What this messenger has brought is very agreeable to us; and as our uncles have made peace with you, the *English*, and many other nations, so we likewise join, and accept of the peace offered to us; and we have already answered by your messenger, what we have to say to the general, that he should go back over the mountains; we have nothing to say to the contrary."

Neither Mr. *Croghn* nor *Andrew Montour* would tell Colonel *Bouquet* the *Indians'* answer. Then Mr. *Croghn*, Colonel *Armstrong* and Colonel *Bouquet* went into the tent by themselves, and I went upon my business. What they have further agreed I do not know; but when they had done, I called king *Beaver*, *Shingas*, and *Kekeuscund*, and said,

"Brethren, if you have any alteration to make, in the answer to the general, concerning leaving this place, you will be pleased to let me know." They said, they would alter nothing, "We have told them three times to leave the place and go back; but they insist upon staying here; if, therefore, they will be destroyed by the *French* and the *Indians*, we cannot help them."

Colonel *Bouquet* set out for *Loyalhannon*: The *Indians* got some liquor between ten and eleven o'clock. One *Mohock* died; the others fired guns three times over him; at the last firing one had accidentally loaded his gun with a double charge: this gun burst to pieces, and broke his hand clean off; he also got a hard knock on his breast; and in the morning at nine o'clock he died, and they buried them in that place, both in one hole.

—6th. It was a cold morning; we swam our horses over the river, the ice running violently. Mr. *Croghn* told me that the *Indians* had spoke, upon the same string that I had, to Colonel *Bouquet*, and altered their mind; and had agreed and desired that 200 men should stay at the fort. I refused to make any alteration in the answer to the general, till I myself did hear it of the *Indians*; at which Mr. *Croghn* grew very angry. I told him I had already spoke with the *Indians*; he said, it was a d—d lie; and desired Mr. *Hays* to enquire of the *Indians*, and take down in writing what they said. Accordingly he called them, and asked them, if they had altered their speech, or spoke to Colonel *Bouquet* on that string they gave me. *Shingas* and the other counsellor said, they had spoken nothing to Colonel *Bouquet* on the string
they

they gave me, but what was agreed between the Indians at *Kusshking*. They said, Mr. *Croghn* and *Henry Montour* had not spoke and acted honestly and uprightly; they bid us not alter the least, and said, "We have told them three times to go back; but they will not go, insisting upon staying here. Now you will let the governor, general, and all people know, that our desire is, that they should go back, till the other nations have joined in the peace, and then they may come and build a trading house."

They then repeated what they had said the 5th instant. Then we took leave of them, and promised to inform the general, governor, and all other gentle people of their disposition; and so we set out from *Pittsburg*, and came within fifteen miles of the breast-work; where we encamped. It snowed, and we made a little cabbin of hides.

—7th. Our horses were fainting, having little or no food. We came that day about twenty miles, to another breast-work; where the whole army had encamped on a hill; the water being far to fetch.

—8th. Between *Pittsburg* and fort *Ligonier* the country is hilly, with rich bottoms, well timbered, but scantily watered. We arrived at fort *Ligonier* in the afternoon, about four o'clock; where we found the general very sick; and therefore could have no opportunity to speak with him.

—9th. We waited to see the general; they told us he would march the next day, and we should go with him. Captain *Sinclair* wrote us a return for provisions for four days.

—10th. The general was still sick; so that he could not go on the journey.

—11th. We longed very much to go farther; and therefore spoke to Major *Halket*, and desired him to enquire of the general, if he intended to speak with us, or, if we might go; as we were in a poor condition, for want of linen, and other necessaries. He desired us to bring the *Indians'* answer, and our journal to the general. Mr. *Hays* read his journal to Major *Halket* and Governor *Glen*. They took memorandums, and went to the general.

—12th. They told us we should stay till the general went.

—14th. The general intended to go; but his horses could not be found. They thought the *Indians* had carried them off. They hunted all day for the horses, but could not find them. I spoke to Colonel *Bouquet* about our allowance being so small, that we could hardly subsist; and that we were without money; and
desired

desired him to let us have some money, that we might buy necessities. Provisions, and every thing is exceeding dear. One pound of bread cost a shilling; one pound of sugar four shillings, a quart of rum seven shillings and six pence, and so in proportion. Colonel *Bouquet* laid our matters before the general; who let me call, and excused himself, that his distemper had hindered him from speaking with me; and promised to help me in every thing I should want, and ordered him to give me some money. He said farther, that I often should call; and when he was alone he would speak with me.

——16th. Mr. *Hays*, being a hunting, was so lucky as to find the general's horses, and brought them home; for which the general was very thankful to him.

——17th. Mr. *Hays*, being desired by Major *Halket* to go and look for the other horses, went, but found none.

——18th. The general told me to hold myself ready, to go with him down the country.

——20th. After we had been out two days, to hunt for our horses, in the rain, we went again to day, and were informed, they had been seen in a lost condition; one laying on the hill, and the other standing; they had been hobbled together; but a person told us, he had cut the hobbles. When we came home we found the horses; they having made home to the fort.

——22d. It was cold and stormy weather.

——23d. I hunted for our horses, and having found them, we gave them both to the king's commissary; they not being able to carry us farther.

The serjeant *Henry Osten*, being one of the company that guided us, as above mentioned, and was that same prisoner, whom the *Shavanos* intended to burn alive, came to day to the fort. He was much rejoiced to see us, and said, "I thank you a thousand times for my deliverance from the fire; and think it not too much to be at your service my whole life time." He gave us intelligence that the *Indians* were, as yet, mightily for the *English*. His master had offered to set him at liberty, and bring him to *Pittsburg* if he would promise him ten gallons of rum; which he did; and he was brought safe to *Pittsburg*. *Delaware George* is still faithful to the *English*; and was very helpful to procure his liberty. *Isaac Still*, *Shingas* and *Beaver* are gone with the message to the nations living further off. When the *French* had heard that the garrison, at *Pittsburg*, consisted only of 200 men, they resolved to go down from

from *Venango*, and destroy the *English* fort. So soon as the *Indians* at *Kushkushking*, heard of their intention, they sent a message to the *French*, desiring them to draw back; for they would have no war in their country. The friendly *Indians* have sent out parties with that intention, that if the *French* went on, in their march towards the fort, they would catch them, and bring them to the *English*. They shewed to *Osten* the place, where eight *French Indian* spies had lain near the fort. By their marks upon the place they learned that these eight were gone back, and five more were to come to the same place again. He told us further, that the *Indians* had spoke among themselves, that if the *English* would join them, they would go to *Venango*, and destroy the *French* there. We hear that the friendly *Indians* intend to hunt round the fort, at *Pittsburg*, and bring the garrison fresh meat. And upon this intelligence the general sent Captain *Wedderholz* with fifty men, to reinforce the garrison at *Pittsburg*.

——25th. The people in the camp prepared for a *Christmas* frolick; but I kept *Christmas* in the woods by myself.

——26th. To day an express came from *Pittsburg* to inform the general, that the *French* had called all the *Indians* in their interest together, and intended to come and destroy them there.

——27th. Towards noon the general set out; which caused a great joy among the garrison, which had hitherto lain in tents, but now being a smaller company, could be more comfortably lodged. It snowed the whole day. We encamped by a *beaver dam*, under *Laurel Hill*.

——28th. We came to *Stony Creek*, where Mr. *Quicksell* is stationed. The general sent Mr. *Hays*, express, to fort *Bedford* (*Rays Town*) and commanded him to see, if the place for encampment, under the *Allegheny* mountain, was prepared; as also to take care that refreshments should be at hand, at his coming. It was stormy and snowed all the day.

——29th. On the road I came up with some waggons; and found my horses with the company; who had taken my horse up, and intended to carry the same away. We encamped on this side, under the *Allegheny* hill.

——30th. Very early I hunted for my horses, but in vain, and therefore was obliged to carry my saddle bags, and other baggage on my back. The burden was heavy, the roads bad; which made me very tired, and came late to *Bedford*; where I took my old lodging with Mr. *Frazier*. They received me kindly, and refreshed me according to their ability.

——31st. This

—31st. This day we rested, and, contrary to expectation, preparation was made for moving further to-morrow. Mr. *Hays*, who has his lodging with the commander of that place, visited me.

January 1st. 1759. We set out early. I got my saddle bags upon a waggon; but my bed and covering I carried upon my back; and came that day to the crossing of *Juniata*; where I had poor lodgings, being obliged to sleep in the open air, the night being very cold.

—2d. We set out early. I wondered very much that the horses, in these slippery roads, came so well with the waggons over these steep hills. We came to fort *Littleton*; where I drew provisions; but could not find any who had bread, to exchange for flour. I took lodging in a common house. Mr. *Hays* arrived late.

—3d. We rose early. I thought to travel the nearest road to *Shippen's Town*, and therefore desired leave of the general to prosecute my journey to *Lancaster*, and wait for his excellency there; but he desired me to follow in his company. It snowed, freezed, rained, and was stormy the whole day. All were exceeding glad that the general arrived safe at fort *Loudon*. There was no room in the fort for such a great company; I, therefore, and some others went two miles further, and got lodgings at a plantation.

—4th. I and my company took the upper road; which is three miles nearer to *Shippen's town*, where we arrived this evening. The slippery roads made me, as a traveller, very tired.

—5th. To day I staid here for the general. Mr. *Hays* went ten miles further, to see some of his relations. In the afternoon *Israel Pemberton* came from *Philadelphia* to wait upon the general.

—6th. I came to-day ten miles to Mr. *Miller's*, where I lodged, having no comfortable place in *Shippen's town*; all the houses being crowded with people.

—7th. They made preparation, at Mr. *Millers*, for the reception of the general; but he, being so well to-day, resolved to go as far as *Carlisle*. I could scarce find any lodging there. *Henry Montour* was so kind as to take me in his room.

—8th. I begged the general for leave to go to *Lancaster*, having some business, which he at last granted. I went to captain *Sinclair* for a horse, who ordered me to go to the chief justice of the town; who ought to procure one for me, in the province service. According to this order I went; but the justice told me, that he did not know how to get any horse; if I would go and look for one, he should be glad if I found any. But having no

mind to run from one to another, I resolved to walk, as I had done before: and so travelled along, and came about ten miles that day to a tavern keeper's, named *Chestnut*.

——9th. To-day I crossed the *Susquahanna* over the ice, and came within thirteen miles of *Lancaster*. It was slippery and heavy travelling.

——10th. It rained all the day. I arrived at three o'clock, in the afternoon, in *Lancaster*; and was quite refreshed, to have the favour to see my brethren.

THE END.

I N D E X

TO THE

History of Pennsylvania,

VOLUME II.

<i>Anno.</i>		<i>Page.</i>
1709.	A RRIVAL of Governor Gookin, &c.	3
	The Proprietor's letter by him to his friends in the province, &c.	4, &c.
	Assembly's address to the Governor, with the names of the Members, &c.	5 to 8
	The Assembly's resentment against Governor Evans imprudently continued in their address to Governor Gookin.	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Governor Gookin's first speech to the Assembly, in reply to their address, &c.	9 to 12
	The Assembly insist on what they had before advanced in their address; and blame the Secretary, James Logan.	12
	The Council's address to the Governor.	12 to 16
	The Assembly blame the Council, and present a remonstrance of grievances to the Governor.	16 and 17
		David

- Anno.* David Lloyd, Speaker of the Assembly, 1709. over which he had much influence, said to have been chief promoter of some of these disputes, &c. *Page.* 17
- The Assembly not justifiable, in part of their conduct, so far as it tended to embarrass the government, and induce the Proprietary to dispose of it, &c. 17 to 20
- The Governor's speech to the Assembly; containing a requisition towards retaking *Newfoundland*, and the conquest of *Canada*, &c. 20 to 22
- The Governor's requisition, being of a military nature, occasions a difficulty with the Quakers; the consequences of whose principles against war, are preferable to those of war; more consistent with humanity, and the original design of settling the province of Pennsylvania, by the Quakers, &c. 22 to 26
- The Assembly's conduct on the occasion, who vote a present to the Queen: a mode which might answer the intention, &c. 26 and 27
- The Assembly excuse the smallness of the sum voted;—but the Governor further urges a more generous contribution; which occasions more dispute; and the Assembly adjourn. 28 and 29
- Governor Gookin convenes the Assembly before their time, and lays several affairs of importance before them. 29 and 30
- The Assembly request Governor Gookin to call the late Governor and Secretary to account, &c.—They agree to augment the sum before voted for the Queen's use;—expect a redress of grievances,

<i>Anno.</i>		<i>Page.</i>
1709.	grievances, and his concurrence to a number of bills; with their titles, &c.	30 and 31
	The Governor's reply, respecting the Quakers not bearing arms;—and in regard to Evans and Logan;—with his reasons for not assenting to the bill of courts;—but the Assembly adhere to their former opinion and method, &c.	31 and 32
	Part of the Governor's message to the Assembly, further discovering his restraint from the Proprietor, in passing certain laws, without the consent of the Council, &c.	32 to 34
	The Assembly, being much disappointed, present a remonstrance to the Governor, wherein they complain bitterly against the Secretary, James Logan.	34 and 35
	Part of the Governor's speech to the new Assembly, mentioning Logan's charge against Lloyd, the Speaker, &c.	36
	They vindicate the former Assembly, &c. and shew their resentment against the Secretary, Logan.	36 to 39
	Petition of the Secretary, James Logan, to the Assembly, &c. with the extreme proceedings of the House against him.	39 and 40
	Warrant for apprehending and imprisoning the Secretary Logan.	<i>Ibid.</i>
	The Governor's superseatas to suppress, or prevent, the execution, &c.	41
	Discontinuance of further proceedings between the Governor and Assembly;—the Secretary goes to England, and survives the storm, &c.	42
	Party spirit early in the province: increased by the Proprietor's absence from	

<i>Anno.</i>		<i>Page.</i>
1709.	from it :—exaggerates what is amiss; and now endangers the government and constitution.	43 to 45
1710.	William Penn's expostulatory letter to the Assembly, on the late transactions, &c.	45 to 53
	A new Assembly elected, consisting en- tirely of different Members, in Octo- ber, 1710, &c.	53
	Good agreement between the Governor and this Assembly; with the names of the Members, &c.	54, &c.
1711.	Governor Gookin convenes the Assembly in consequence of an express from England, respecting the expedition to Canada.	55
	The Queen's letter to the Governor on the occasion.	<i>Ibid.</i>
	The Assembly vote 2000 <i>l.</i> for the Queen's use, notwithstanding the con- stant extraordinary expence of the pro- vince with the Indians, &c.	56
	The Proprietor's desire to serve the peo- ple of the province, &c.	57
1712.	The Proprietor agrees to dispose of the government of the province to Queen Anne;—but soon after, he being seiz- ed with an apoplexy, it was never ex- ecuted, &c.	57 and 58
	Proceedings between the Governor and Assembly, &c.	58, &c.
	Account of wine and rum imported this year.	59
1713.	John Lowdon, &c. with the first settle- ment of New Garden in Chester County.	<i>Ibid.</i> Memorial

- | <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| 1713. | Memorial of Samuel Carpenter;—with the names of Members of Council in 1712. | 60 |
| 1714. | Change in the Assembly;—David Lloyd again Speaker;—but not agreeing with the Governor on the affairs before them, the Assembly adjourn till the latter part of their year, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1715. | Governor's writ for summoning the Assembly in 1715;—altercation between the Governor and Assembly, &c. | 60 and 61 |
| | But they afterwards agree for dispatch of business, &c.—London Grove in Chester County first settled, &c. | 61 and 62 |
| | The Assembly's address to the Governor respecting tumults raised in Philadelphia;—with the Governor's answer. | 63 to 69 |
| | Indian treaty held in Philadelphia, anno 1715. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | The Governor informs the Assembly of his intention to go to England, &c. | 69, &c. |
| 1716. | The Assembly's address to King George the First, on his accession to the throne, &c. Joseph Growdon Speaker. | 70 to 72 |
| | The Governor disagrees with both the Council and Assembly, &c.—with the names of the Members, &c. | 72 and 73 |
| | The Assembly's long representation to Governor Gookin, containing a variety of things. | 74 to 94 |
| 1717. | Governor Gookin takes his last leave of the Assembly;—being superseded by Sir William Keith. | 94 |
| | Governor Keith's first speech to the Assembly, June, 1717;—with the Assembly's address, and his reply. | 94 to 99 |
| | | The |

- | <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| 1717. | The government's apprehensions respecting the great influx of foreigners about this time. | 100 |
| | Death and memorial of Griffith Owen, one of the Council, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1718. | Address of the Governor and Assembly to the King respecting the settlement and state of the province;—and the necessity of the solemn affirmation of the Quakers being admitted there, in all things, instead of an oath, &c. Harmony between the Governor and Assembly, &c. | 101 to 104 |
| | Death and character of the Proprietor William Penn; wherein are obviated some objections against him, or his administration, &c. | 105 to 114 |
| | Manner of his leaving his estate and property;—with the dispute which happened in consequence, &c. | 114 to 119 |
| | Conduct of the Governor and Assembly on their hearing of the Proprietor's decease. | 119 |
| | Memorial of Jonathan Dickinson, Speaker of the Assembly. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Names of the Members of Assembly. | 120 |
| | William Penn, junior, heir at law, claims the government. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1719. | Governor Keith's speech to the Assembly, in consequence of said claim;—with a disagreement among the Indians, &c. | 121 |
| | The Assembly's answer to the Governor's speech, &c. | 122 to 124 |
| | Government, &c. of Pennsylvania, afterwards settled in favour of the younger | |

- | <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|---|--------------|
| 1719. | younger branch of the Proprietor's family, &c. | 124 |
| | An important law, for the advancement of justice, receives the royal assent;—William Trent, &c. | 125 |
| 1720. | Governor Keith proposes to the Assembly to establish a Court of Chancery; to which they agree;—Vincent Caldwell and William Baldwin, &c. | 125 and 126 |
| | Governor Keith's proclamation for establishing a Court of Chancery in Pennsylvania; with the names of the Masters in Chancery, &c. | 126 and 127 |
| 1721. | The disagreement among the Indians increasing, Governor Keith goes to Virginia, on the occasion, &c. | 128 |
| | Extract of a printed Indian treaty, held by Governor Keith, &c. at Conestogoe in Pennsylvania, with divers Indian nations, &c. | 128 to 145 |
| | Governor Keith's concern for the public good, and the Assembly's acknowledgment of the same;—death and memorial of Anthony Morris. | 145 and 146 |
| 1722. | Barbarous murder of an Indian gives the Assembly much concern;—they approve the Governor's conduct on the occasion, and are very anxious to preserve friendship with the Indians; with which the Governor heartily unites, &c.—names of the Members of Council, &c. | 146 to 149 |
| | Several useful laws passed; with the titles of some of them. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1722. | Increase of law suits in the province;—low credit of its bread and flour, in the West Indies, &c.—with the names | |

- | <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|--|-------------------|
| 1722. | of the Members of Assembly ;—and
number of writs annually, &c. | 150, &c. |
| | <i>Paper Money Scheme</i> first introduced ;—
which occasions great diversity of sen-
timent, and party dispute respecting it. | 151 |
| | <i>Sentiments</i> of several gentlemen and mer-
chants on the proposed paper currency,
delivered to the Assembly by <i>Isaac Nor-</i>
<i>ris</i> and <i>James Logan</i> . | 152 to 162 |
| | Answer to the <i>Sentiments</i> , &c. presented
to the House, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Further sentiments of the gentlemen,
merchants, &c. | <i>Ibid</i> , &c. |
| | Governor Keith's sentiments, on the
same subject, in writing, to the As-
sembly. | 162 to 171 |
| 1723. | An act of Assembly is passed, for emit-
ting 15,000 <i>l.</i> on loan in paper bills of
credit ;—and before the end of the
same year, another act, for 30,000 <i>l.</i>
more, &c, | 171 to 173 |
| | Extracts from Dr. Douglas and Govern-
or Hutchinson's observations on paper
money in New England, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Further account of the state of the Penn-
sylvania paper currency, till the year
1749 ;—with that of the several rates
of gold and silver in the province dur-
ing the said time. | 173 to 177 |
| 1724. | Governor Keith a solicitor of popularity ;
—his administration beneficial to the
country :—he <i>breaks his instructions</i>
from the Proprietor—which causes a
dispute in the province. | 177 to 179 |
| | Reasons given by Governor Keith, and
his party, for his conduct ;—with those
given against it, in vindication of said
instructions, | |

<i>Anno.</i>		<i>Page.</i>
	instructions, by the friends of the Proprietaries.	179 to 183
1725.	James Logan's paper, offered to the Assembly, for terminating the above mentioned dispute;—with the names of the Members of Assembly, in 1724 and 1725, and those of the Council about the same time, &c.	184
	Widow, Hannah Penn's answer to the Assembly's remonstrance, respecting the aforesaid instructions, &c.	185 to 187
	Further account respecting the Proprietor's instructions, &c. with mention of William Allen and Thomas Lightfoot.	188 and 189
	Establishment of the <i>Quakers'</i> solemn affirmation instead of an oath, in Pennsylvania.	190 to 193
	Forms of the <i>declaration</i> of fidelity to the King, of the <i>abjuration</i> and <i>affirmation</i> of the <i>Quakers</i> in Pennsylvania.	<i>Ibid.</i>
	Address of the <i>Quakers</i> in Pennsylvania to the King expressive of their gratitude, on the restoration, or establishment, of the <i>solemn affirmation</i> , &c.	193 to 195
	Speech of the deliverers of said address to the King, and the King's answer;—with an extract from an epistle of the <i>Quakers</i> in England addressed to their own society there on a similar occasion.	<i>Ibid.</i>
	The privilege of the <i>Quakers</i> in Pennsylvania of appearing in courts, in their own way, with their hats on their heads, interrupted, &c.	196 to 198
	The <i>Quakers'</i> address and request to Governor <i>Keith</i> , on the occasion; and his compliance with said request.	198 to 201

- Anno.* Governor *Keith*, having displeased and
 1726. opposed the Proprietary family, notwithstanding his popularity, and useful abilities, and his having benefited the province by his administration, is superseded in the government by *Patrick Gordon*, in 1726;—after which being elected a Member of Assembly, he afterwards became disagreeable to the people, and returned to England, &c. 201 and 202
- Patrick Gordon*, Esquire, succeeds to the government, and first meets the Assembly in Sixth month, 1726;—his administration at first disturbed by the faction of Sir William Keith, &c. 202
- Prudent and prosperous administration of Governor Gordon, in general;—with the flourishing state of the province; its trade and produce during and about the same time;—mention of Robert Fletcher, &c. 202 to 206
1732. *Thomas Penn*, one of the Proprietors arrives in the province; the Assembly's address to him, with his answer. 206 to 208
- Commissioners appointed to mark and run the boundary lines between *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania* with those of the territories of the latter;—with Dr. Douglas's account of this affair, &c. 208 and 209
- Description of the boundaries between *Maryland* and *Pennsylvania*, &c. which were not finally executed till the year 1762. 209 to 211
1734. *John Penn* the eldest of the Proprietors arrives in the province;—Assembly's address to him, with his answer. 211 and 212
1735. The Proprietor of *Maryland* applies to the King for a grant, or confirmation, of the territories and part of *Pennsyl-*

- | <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page,</i> |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| 1735. | vania, as being within the charter granted to his ancestors ;—but he is opposed by the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, and their friends, both in England and in the province, &c. | 212 and 213 |
| | The Assembly's address to <i>John Penn</i> , on his departure to England on this occasion ; with his answer, &c. | 213 and 214 |
| 1736. | Governor Gordon dies in 1736 ;—and the government devolves on the Council, James Logan being President, till the arrival of George Thomas, Esquire, in 1738 ;—during which time the public affairs were well managed :—names of Members of Council ;—Benjamin Franklin, &c. | 215 |
| 1738. | Administration of Governor <i>Thomas</i> ;—he first meets the Assembly in Sixth month, 1738 ; and informs them his embarkation had been retarded by the conduct of the Lord <i>Baltimore</i> , &c.—with the grants of Assembly for the King's use, during his administration ;—and Indian expenses, &c. | 215 and 216 |
| 1739. | Speech of <i>Andrew Hamilton</i> , Speaker of the Assembly, at his taking leave of the same, in 1739 ; respecting the constitution and prosperity of <i>Pennsylvania</i> about that time, &c. | 217 to 220 |
| 1741. | Governor <i>Thomas</i> , having encouraged the enlisting of bought, or indented servants, in the province for soldiers, <i>John Wright</i> , a Member of Assembly, and Magistrate of Lancaster County, opposes the practice, in a speech before the Assembly ; for which he is removed from his office ;—as well as some other Magistrates, on that account, &c. | 220 and 221 |

- | <i>Anno.</i> | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--------------|--|--------------|
| 1741. | Number of servants thus taken from their masters, who were indemnified for their loss by the Assembly, &c. with the names of the Members of Assembly, &c. | 220 and 221 |
| | Speech of <i>John Wright</i> to the Court and Grand Jury, on his removal from his office, at the Quarter Sessions, in Lancaster;—with a short memorial of said <i>John Wright</i> . | 221 to 227 |
| | Assembly's address to the Proprietor, Thomas Penn, on his departure for England, with the Proprietor's answer, &c. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1742. | Account of a riotous election at Philadelphia, in 1742;—with the effects of much liberty and party spirit, &c.— <i>Robert Jordan</i> . | 227 to 230 |
| 1747. | Governor <i>Thomas</i> resigns the government;—though his administration was attended with some altercation and disagreement, between him and the Assembly, in certain cases, yet it was, in general, well executed, and they parted friendly, &c. | 230 |
| | Names of Members of Council at different times. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| 1748. | On Governor <i>Thomas</i> 's resignation, the government devolves on the Council, Anthony Palmer being President, till the arrival of <i>James Hamilton</i> , of Philadelphia, from England, Governor, &c. who resigned in 1754. | 231 |
| | Succession of later Governors till the year 1771. | 232 and 233 |
| | Memorials of John Kinsey, Israel Pemberton, Michael Lightfoot and John Smith. | <i>Ibid.</i> |
| | Conclusion. | 234 to 236 |

A View of the Province of Pennsylvania, and of the State in which it flourished chiefly between the years 1760 and 1770, in four parts, viz.

- | | <i>Page.</i> |
|--|--------------|
| Part I. The seasons of the year, and temperature of the weather; the nature of the land and soil; with the face of the country in general, both in <i>Pennsylvania</i> and the adjacent provinces; as, the mountains, vallies, plains, rivers and creeks, &c. | 237 to 257 |
| Part II. The chorography, division into counties, principal towns, produce and chief staple of the country, with its great increase and variety.—Trade and commerce, present inhabitants, with their great increase, &c.—City of Philadelphia, and other considerable towns, &c.—Internal police, and courts of judicature in <i>Pennsylvania</i> , with the public officers in 1772. | 257 to 292 |
| Part III. The <i>Indians</i> ,—uncertainty of their origin,—boundaries of the <i>Six Nations</i> , with their dependencies, and the <i>Indians</i> on <i>Ohio</i> , &c.—Account of the <i>Six Nations</i> , their customs and properties, &c.—Of those of <i>Pennsylvania</i> and <i>New Jersey</i> ; their general turn of mind, propensities, customs and habits.—Speech of an <i>Indian Chief</i> , in answer to a <i>Swedish Missionary</i> ,—their religious sense of the Deity.— <i>Conrad Weiser's</i> letter on the subject.—Account of some religious <i>Indians</i> in 1760, &c.— <i>Infracti</i> on of the peace between the <i>Indians</i> , and the people of <i>Pennsylvania</i> , about the year 1754.— <i>Massacre</i> of the <i>Conestogoe Indians</i> , &c.—Causes of the
<i>Indian</i> | |

<i>Indian War, and means of the ensuing Peace in 1764.</i>	<i>Page.</i> 292 to 337
Part IV. <i>Religious State of Pennsylvania</i> ;—variety and harmony of the religious sects in the province;—their proportion in Philadelphia.—The <i>Mennonists, Dunkards, Swenkfelders, and Moravians</i> ,—Conclusion.	337 to 360
<i>Thomas Makin's account of Pennsylvania, a Latin poem, in 1729, addressed to James Logan.</i>	360 to 373

A P P E N D I X.

- No. I. Certain conditions, or concessions, in 1681.
 II. First frame of government and laws of Pennsylvania, &c. published in 1682.
 III. The charter of 1683.
 IV. The charter of 1696.
 V. The Assembly's address to the Proprietor, with his answer, in 1701.
 VI. The charter of the city of Philadelphia, in 1701.
 VII. The Friendly Association's address to Governor Denny, in 1757.
 VIII. and IX. Christian Frederick Post's journal of his two journeys among the Indians, &c.

ERRATA and EMENDATA in this Volume, viz.

<i>Page.</i>	<i>Line.</i>	<i>Errata.</i>	<i>Emendata.</i>
4	Note,	forasmuch as,	- for so much as.
156	16,	bacause,	- because.
310	23,	&c. so much as,	- &c. did not succeed so much as.

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